

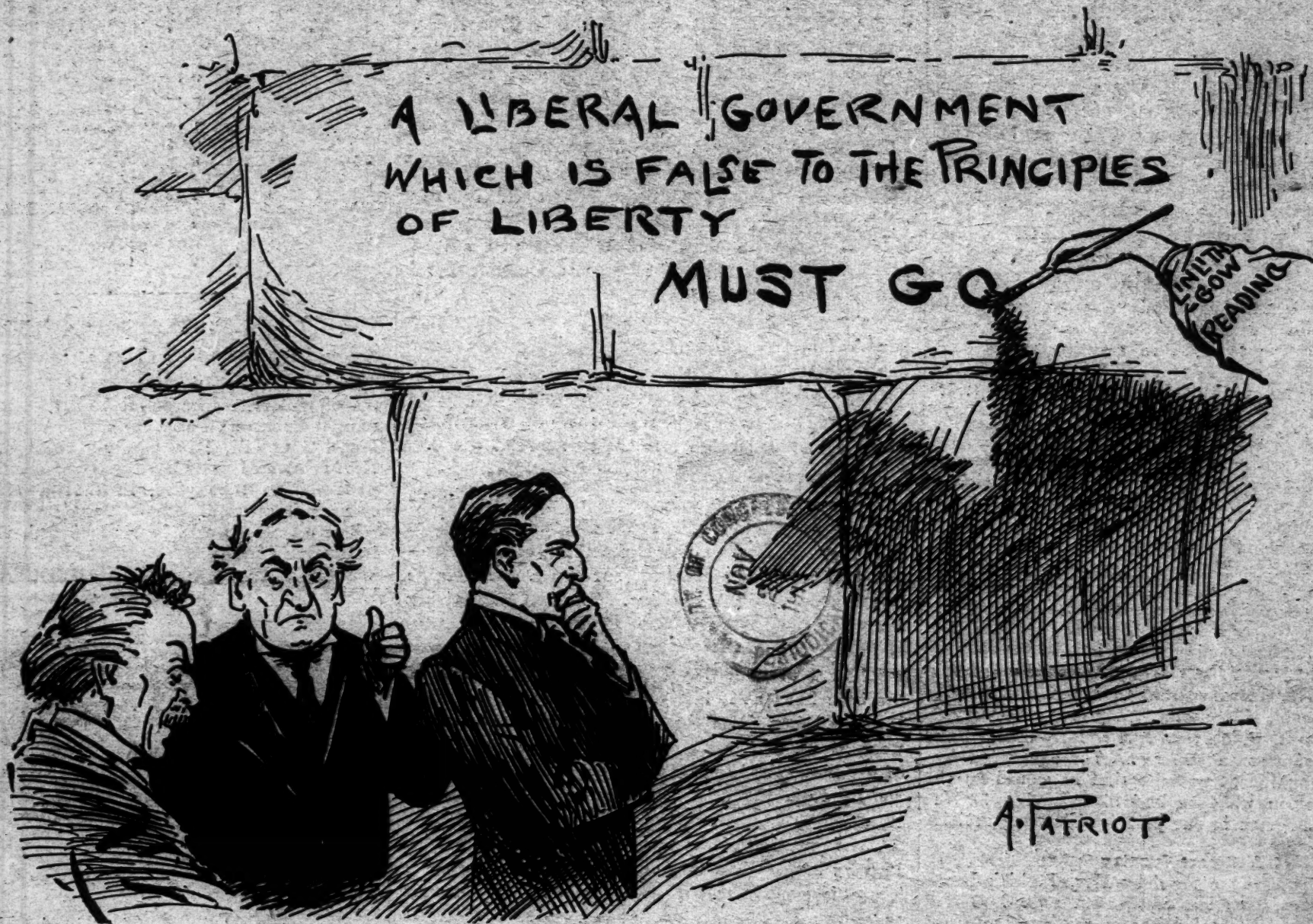
VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VII. (New Series), No. 297.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1913.

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THE WRITING ON THE WALL

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The outstanding events of the past week have been the three contested by-elections. In two of these—West Lothian and Reading—the Government have suffered a very serious set back; in the third—Keighley—they have just managed to hold their own.

The Meaning of the By-Elections

What interpretation is to be given to these events? When the first two results were made known the Tory Press hailed them as a proof that the country

was returning to Conservative principles. The Liberal Press, on the other hand, were equally emphatic in maintaining that the real cause was the loss to the Liberal Party of "progressive" votes. As the *Westminster Gazette* put it, "It is not to promote any sort of Tory policy, but to demonstrate for a more advanced policy than the Government proposes." The conclusion drawn by the Liberal papers was that Larkin must be released, and a more sympathetic attitude adopted by the Government towards labour questions.

The Influence of the Woman's Movement

Our own view, based on a careful study of the facts of the three elections, is that the Liberal Press are in the main right in holding that the opposition to the Liberal candidate was due to progressive forces, but that they are wrong in thinking that this "progressive" opposition was solely concerned with Labour questions. We believe that it is demonstrable that the woman's movement played a dominating part in the contests, and that it will continue to dog the footsteps of Liberal politicians until they solve it in the only manner consistent with Liberal and democratic principles.

In West Lothian

Consider the three elections separately. In West Lothian the local Independent Labour Party issued a manifesto calling upon all its supporters to vote Unionist. This is the policy which has been definitely recommended to the Labour Party by the militant woman suffragists, in season and out of season, for the past seven years. In sending out this manifesto,

the Labour Party specifically named, as two of the principal grounds on which the policy was recommended, firstly, the failure of the Government to enfranchise women, and secondly, the inhuman methods by which the Liberal Home Secretary has treated woman suffragists in prison. The Labour supporters in the constituency are several hundred strong, so that the transference of their votes from one side to the other would account for a drop in the Government majority of at least seven or eight hundred, and very likely of over a thousand votes. In these circumstances can anyone doubt that the conflict between the Government and women played a dominating part in the result?

In Reading

In Reading, a most extensive and effective campaign was carried on by the women's organisations against the Government. Large numbers of suffrage papers were sold, and a detailed house to house canvas was carried out. The result of all this was that by the time polling day was reached there was a widespread feeling in the constituency against the cruel behaviour of the Government to women. To those who were present at the election these facts need no corroboration, but to those who were not present we cite as evidence, firstly, the *Daily News* cartoon, which, prominent among the forces which made for the defeat of Mr Gooch, placed a figure representing the Women's Social and Political Union, and secondly, the fact that Mr. Butler, the Socialist candidate, gave more and more weight to the women's question as the campaign proceeded, and in his final words to the

electors, quoted by the *Westminster Gazette*, asked them to vote, amongst other things, "for justice to tortured women."

Other Issues

In making this claim that the woman's question played an important part in these elections, we are not forgetting or ignoring the fact that many voters were also influenced against the Government on account of the continued imprisonment of Jim Larkin. But we say that these two were collateral and simultaneous causes, so that the result was produced by their combined action, and we say further that the whole Larkin agitation itself would never have reached its present proportions if the militant woman suffragists had not, by their example, pointed out the pathway of rebellion. So long as the Liberal Government refuse to put into practice, with regard to women, the principles of Liberalism, so long will the revolt of women go on increasing, and this revolt will stimulate the opposition of every other aggrieved section of the community into vigorous hostility to the Government.

The Keighley Election

When we come to the Keighley election we have ample evidence that the woman's question exercised a considerable influence upon the electors, but this influence was largely counteracted by other causes which contributed to the result. There is no good disguising the fact that Sir Stanley Buckmaster was a very much better candidate than either of his opponents, and that his personal expressions of support of woman suffrage, taken in conjunction with Lord Lascelles' scarcely veiled hostility, created a situation in which Liberal electors friendly to women thought they were justified in refusing the advice offered by ourselves and others to "vote against the Liberal on account of the Government's treatment of women."

Mr. Lloyd George Defends Himself

Mr. Lloyd George received two deputations of women last Friday on the occasion of his visit to Middlesbrough. To the first, representing the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, he told the oft-repeated tale about the injury done to the cause by militancy. To the second, representing the Women's Freedom League, he attempted to justify his own position as a member of a Cabinet which refuses to enfranchise women. He had no intention of tendering his resignation, he told them, for that would jeopardise the great Liberal measures which the Government wanted to carry, and would only be the means of bringing into power a Conservative Government, which would be equally divided on the subject of woman suffrage. He concluded by giving the magnificent promise that he would go on doing for women what he had already done! We deal with this speech in our principal leading article this week.

A Secret Inquiry

The grave warning uttered by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in our columns last week with regard to the Commission on Venereal Diseases receives the support of an eminent woman doctor, Dr. Martindale, whose letter we publish on page 97 of this issue. Meanwhile a fresh element of danger has arisen in the decision to conduct the Commission in secret. We are aware, of course, that the reason alleged for this decision is a desire to prevent the Press from publishing prurient details of the evidence day by day. We believe that the Press could be trusted in this matter, but in any case we are strongly of opinion that the danger arising from secrecy is far greater than that arising from publicity. Every fact in connection with this Commission is such as to give rise in the minds of women to the gravest suspicion.

Forcible Feeding in Prison

Miss Rachel Peace, who has been forcibly fed for five weeks in Holloway, was due to come up for trial on Thursday, after we had gone to press. We understand also that some of the Dublin prisoners who have been gaoled in connection with the strike are being forcibly fed in prison. From this it will be seen that the Liberal Government is losing all sense of shame in its treatment of political offenders.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* should be sent to The Editors, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to The Publisher, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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The Paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls. In New York, at Brentano's; and at Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta.

For quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

"ON TIME"

I have heard that there is a certain train between Chicago and New York especially run to meet the demands of men who control vast business interests in the American world. That train is guaranteed to be always strictly "on time."

The successful man knows that when the clock strikes he *must be there*.

The Votes for Women Movement is the most alive, alert, and up-to-date business in the social and political world. We Suffrage people pride ourselves on being always "right there, on time." Just at this moment the Clock is striking—Christmas. Fellows, are you there? Many of the principal shops have already opened their Christmas Bazaars. Just make it your business to find out whether they have advertised in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Large sums of money will be expended in Christmas fare, Christmas presents, Christmas parties. Most of this spending power is vested in the hands of women. See to it, Fellows, that all this trade, so far as you are concerned, goes into the hands of those who support the Woman's Movement by advertising in the columns of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. If you cannot find any of our regular advertisers who supply just what you want for your Christmas present, then wait till you see our special number on December 5, which will contain many additional advertisements of Christmas shopping. And as this is a matter of business and not of philanthropy, take good care that the left hand knows all about the doing of the right hand. In other words, be sure you let the firms with whom you deal understand why you are giving them your custom.

There is a time and season for everything. This time and this season provide the opportunity of carrying our campaign into the commercial world.

Paper-sellers as Advertising Agents

Talking about advertisements reminds us of the other side of that question. We Fellows and workers in this great movement have something to advertise—many things—our movement, our cause, our message to the people of this country. Our best advertising agents are our paper-sellers. They are doing magnificently, but we want more—hundreds more! We want them everywhere. The Leeds group of Fellows has been hard at it lately. How great their success is can be seen from the fact that they sent in last week £1 2s. 9d., made up entirely from the margin of profit supplied by the difference between wholesale buying from the newsagents and retail sale in the street.

The formation of the new Kensington group, with its very businesslike corps of sellers, is a great gain. There is endless scope for this work. It demands more than a little pluck to make a start, but it offers fascination and interest to those who have enough courage to take the first step. Will volunteers send in their names to me at Red Lion Court?

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP Kensington Group

A Fellowship group is being formed in Kensington to push forward the sale of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. A corps of sellers is being gathered together to staff the High Street Station and Arthur's Stores (Westbourne Grove) pitches, and it is hoped shortly to start other pitches in South Kensington and Earl's Court. Several names of sellers have been received, but many more are needed. Volunteers for poster parades to advertise the paper will also be required. Miss Postlethwaite has kindly offered her flat (No. 27, Warwick Chambers, Pater Street, Kensington) as a depot for the papers, and sellers can obtain their supplies from there. Miss Ward has undertaken to canvass newsagents about exhibiting the poster. Subscriptions towards the cost of showing the poster at railway bookstalls in the neighbourhood will be very welcome. Grateful thanks to those who have already contributed generously to this fund.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has promised to speak at a drawing-room meeting in Kensington on the afternoon of December 11.

All offers of help should be sent to the Hon. Sec., Miss Morrison, B.A., 11, Addison Mansions, Blythe Road, W., who will also gladly give further information about the local work.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Now that political pressure is being effectively put on the Government, it behoves "Fellows" to be more energetic than ever before in the sale of our paper.

A Golder's Green pitch was started at the Fellowship meeting held there last week. Helpers are

needed, and any members living in that district, who can take their share in this work, are asked to send in their names to the organiser, who will put them in touch with the captain of the pitch.

Thanks are due to a "Fellow" who has volunteered to sell at weekly meetings.

With the approach of Christmas the shops will be thronged with buyers, and we must have the paper represented at the principal centres. For this we need more day-sellers. Volunteers, please send in your names without delay to the Organiser, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(Up to Nov. 8, 1913)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged ..	1,181	8	1	Miss E. M. Moore..	0	1	9
Dr. Ella G.				Miss Lina Ross			
Brisco Owen	0	1	0	By-election	0	3	0
Miss A. L. McNeill	2	2	0	Mrs. Carey	1	0	0
Miss Dorothy				Miss J. Reed	0	5	0
K. Lake	0	2	0	Mrs. Parr	0	5	0
Mrs. J. M. C. Phillips	0	2	0	Miss Mary O.			
Mrs. Richardson ..	0	7	6	Stuart Menteth	0	1	0
Miss E. M. Pethick	10	0	0	Miss E. F. Staley ..	0	1	0
Mrs. Pethick	5	5	0	Mrs. F. M.			
Mrs. H. R. B. Tracy	0	10	0	Bousfield	1	1	0
Miss L. C. Lowe ..	2	0	0	Leeds, extra on			
Miss Kathleen				Votes	1	2	9
Williams	1	0	0	Madam J. Bertalot	0	3	9
Miss A. E. Worsfold	0	5	0	Sale on VOTES FOR			
Andro Sloan, Esq..	0	2	6	WOMEN Baga	0	11	3
Miss Alice M.				Collection per			
Pennington	0	5	0	Miss D. Pethick	1	4	6
Miss Gwendoline				Tickets per			
Bowman	0	2	0	Miss D. Pethick	4	12	0
Miss E. E. Ellett..	0	1	0				
Miss M. Steede ..	0	2	6				
					£1,214	7	7

DINNER ON DECEMBER 4

Celebrating the 300th Issue of "Votes of Women"

Our readers will be interested to know that among the after-dinner speeches to be delivered at the Connaught Rooms on Thursday evening, December 4, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, and Miss Evelyn Sharp have all kindly promised to take part, so that a very delightful evening is assured.

The dinner, it will be remembered, is being given in honour of the Literary Contributors to *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and members of the Fellowship who wish to be present and to bring guests, can obtain tickets for the dinner, price 7s. 6d. each, from The Ticket Secretary, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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THE ENORMITIES OF ELEANOR

By G. Colmore.

She really was the limit. They didn't say so because they never talked slang, but that was what they meant when they expressed themselves at family gatherings or talked the tittlest of tattle at tête-à-tête teas. There was Papa, and there was Bob, and there was Margaret, who was Mrs. Eustace Jones, and Carrie, who was Mrs. Bodkin, and Muriel, generally called Mewey, who kept house for Papa and Bob. And there was also, of course, Eustace Jones and Lancelot Bodkin. Poor Mamma had passed on to a land where, they were all convinced, were only the spirits of Antis. It was terrible to think that Eleanor could never rejoin her. Eleanor had been Nellie once—in the days before the Fall—even, sometimes, Elly; but it was impossible to speak of a Suffragette by any name save that, in its fulness, which had been conferred on her in baptism. Any diminution in its syllables would have seemed like condonation of her crimes.

For Eleanor was a criminal! That is to say, she was a Suffragette, and since all Suffragettes are criminals, Eleanor necessarily could not be one without being the other. How she ever came to be led away, they none of them could explain. Margaret couldn't understand, Mewey couldn't think, Carrie couldn't imagine how, *how*. . . ! And she had had the very same bringing up as they had! As for poor, dear Papa—they were all very sorry for Papa—he said that Eleanor would bring his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. So far, she had brought them to nothing worse than the gravy, and of that, indeed, she had been guilty, for his hand was so shaken with emotion while he combined the tasks of expressing his opinions and eating his dinner that he spilled a spoonful of soup all down his beard.

Eustace and Lancelot gave vent to their feelings chiefly in dark sayings which halted in mid sentence, such as that they would like to see their wives up to any such games . . . or that if Madge or if Carrie . . . and the awful consequences were left to the imagination of the auditors. As for Bob—he would not put his sentiments into words, but he felt her to be the limit.

And she was. She went to meetings, respectable meetings, and asked questions; and more than once was set upon and dragged out. So disreputable! The people who dragged her, Mewey ventured timidly to suggest, were, perhaps—but Mewey was sat upon before she could finish her sentence. They were *men*, those people, quite a different thing. Then Margaret, walking down Piccadilly, came across her actually standing on the pavement—or, indeed, Margaret believed, in the gutter—selling that horrible paper. Poor Margaret! They were all so sorry for Margaret—the shock—the coming across her own sister—and Eleanor positively asked her to buy a copy! Eustace said if only he had been there! And Bob breathed out threatnings and slaughter between teeth clenched on a cigar—to the destruction of the cigar, but not of Eleanor, who went on calmly treading what they all felt to be the downward path.

She had ceased to live at home, at once a blessing and a grievance. She had taken rooms—or a room; fancy living in one room!—made capable of impious independence by the fact that her aunt had left her fifty pounds a year; and poor Bob—they were all very sorry for Bob—was unable to carry out his threat of persuading papa to turn her out of the house.

And then came a day, a dreadful day, when words failed, and only the bare information of what had happened could be conveyed with bated breath from one member of the family to another. Eleanor was in prison. In prison! Like any thief, or drunkard, or other unspeakable character. She had obstructed the police, a scandalous proceeding; and though she declared in court that it was the police who had obstructed her, that, of course, was all nonsense. Madge and Carrie and Muriel had *never* been obstructed by the police: on the contrary, they had often been helped across crowded roadways by uniformed guardians of the peace.

Eleanor was remanded, and was to come up again, and the question arose: Who was to go to the court and see what happened? Not any of her sisters, of course: courts were no place for womanly women. Nor papa; it would be far too much for papa. Eustace Jones said *he* wasn't going to be seen there,

and Lancelot said he'd be jiggered if *he* was. So it was decided that Bob was to go, and in a state of acute righteous inflammation, Bob went.

Bob went and Bob came back. They were all there. Madge had been saying that Eleanor deserved a lesson; Lancelot had remarked that she would probably get it. What had happened? Would Bob kindly inform them? Lancelot asked what the devil he was humming and hawing about? Papa said he hoped there was nothing her sisters might not hear. Then Bob spoke; in a sort of growl, very fierce and slightly tremulous. Three weeks. . . .

Well, it served her right, they all knew, but. . . .

She had made a speech, and—anyone to hear her would have thought she had right on her side.

"Just fancy!" said Carrie. "The Hussy," muttered Eustace.

And—and—she was going to do the hunger-strike.

Somehow none of them had ever thought of that. They had jeered at the hunger-strike, of course; all womanly women jeered at it and all self-respecting men; and they had maintained that forcible feeding was simply a lazy way of taking nourishment. But all the women who had hunger-struck had been vague words in the newspaper—unindividualised. It suddenly occurred to them that to do the hunger-strike meant going without food. They sat in uncomfortable silence. Madge was thinking of a sinking feeling that came on if she went without her tea; Lancelot was thinking of his dinner; papa was thinking that mamma had always said that Eleanor was the most delicate of the family. Mewey, who had been in the nursery and schoolroom with the culprit, disconcerted them all by bursting into tears. It was absurd of Mewey; they all told her so—and told each other so. Lancelot said that if his wife was to be so foolish . . . and his wife snapped-out that she supposed if women had no other rights, they had at least the right to cry if they liked. And then they all lost their tempers and went away without saying good-bye to each other.

Surreptitiously each bought a disreputable paper; surreptitiously each read it, seeking news; dumbly at every meal each thought of the properly punished Eleanor. Lancelot was more sarcastic than ever, Eustace more autocratic; Bob rarely spoke without a swear word; papa rarely spoke at all. Madge and Carrie and Mewey developed an odd habit of avoiding each other's eyes. They were all very angry, of course, but their anger seemed too deep for words; far too deep, for when Eleanor was taken to the nursing home they all went to see her, and instead of telling her she was a disgrace to the family, they asked her how she was.

OUR 300th ISSUE

Specially Enlarged and Illustrated

We have great pleasure in announcing to our readers that our issue of December 5, being the 300th number of VOTES FOR WOMEN, will be of a special character.

In addition to the ordinary news of the movement and articles upon the current situation, the issue will be enlarged so as to contain illustrated Christmas stories and articles by well-known writers in the suffrage movement, and will be included in a cover specially designed in the colours of the Fellowship—purple, white, and red.

In order to meet the additional cost, the price of this one issue will be increased to twopence.

We are quite certain that readers will wish to have several additional copies of this very attractive number, both for themselves and for their friends, and we would specially ask them to inform their news-agents as early as possible of their wishes in this matter, or to send us orders for additional copies, as owing to the special method of printing which will be necessary there will be a difficulty in supplying a large number of additional copies unless ordered in advance.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Case for Co-education." By Cecil Grant and Norman Hodgson. (London: Grant Richards. Price 6s. net.)
 "The Future of the Women's Movement." By Mrs. H. M. Swanwick. (London: G. Bell and Sons. Price 2s. 6d. net.)
 "Feeding and Care of Baby." By F. Truby King, M.B., B.Sc. (London: Macmillan. Price 1s. net.)
 "The Book of Divorce. Its Use and Abuse." By Mrs. Hugo Ames. (London: The Key Publishing Co. Price not stated.)

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TWO MORE DEPUTATIONS TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE

Chancellor Again Takes Shelter Behind Militancy—Brisk Argument with the Women's Freedom League—Repudiates Notion of Cabinet Resignations

Last Friday, on the occasion of his visit to Middlesbrough, the Chancellor of the Exchequer received two separate Suffragist deputations, representing the local branches of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Women's Freedom League. To the former he repeated his denunciation of militancy, and, as a constructive policy, advised them to secure from Parliamentary candidates at the General Election pledges to press for facilities to get a bill through. Mr. Lloyd George then had an interview with delegates from the Women's Freedom League, and found himself compelled to parry searching questions and answer definite demands. In the course of his replies he said he was not prepared to sacrifice questions like Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and Land Reform, to Woman Suffrage, and declared that his resignation and that of his Suffragist colleagues in the Cabinet would do harm rather than good to the cause, though, he affirmed, they pressed the question in the Cabinet at every opportunity and used all legitimate means to further it short of splitting the party. The deputation was not convinced by his specious statements, and left after arguing the point with considerable energy.

THE DEPUTATIONS

The deputations were received by Mr. Lloyd George at Pinchingthorpe Hall, near Middlesbrough, where he was staying with Mrs. Lloyd George, who was present at the interview. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was represented by Mrs. Levick, M.D., Miss Shepherd and Miss Ward; and the Women's Freedom League by Mrs. Schofield Coates, Miss Winifred Jones, and Miss Mahony.

THE NATIONAL UNION'S DEPUTATION
Mrs. Levick spoke on behalf of the National Union, whose delegates were received first. She explained that they had asked to be received by themselves, although personally they were extremely friendly with individual members of the Women's Freedom League.

Mr. Lloyd George: I put them in a totally different category from other societies, which seem to be organised for criminal purposes.

Mrs. Levick said the National Union represented 50,000 people, and they disapproved of and deprecated militant methods. He was such an ardent supporter of freedom and liberty among the people that they thought he must support them when they were asking for something which would give them the status of citizens, especially when legislation dealing with home affairs was being evolved and passed.

Demand for a Suffrage Measure

They asked for a promise that he would support some measure of suffrage for women either as a Government measure or as a private member's measure, even though universal suffrage might fall through, and even though adult suffrage might or might not be brought forward.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S REPLY

Mr. Lloyd George, in his reply, at once attacked militancy. He said he thought there was no doubt that the majority for women's suffrage in Parliament had been upset by militancy. They had been getting on very well until militancy broke out afresh, but now, instead of making progress, they had gone back during the last two or three years. He attributed it entirely to the militants, and the majority had gone back inside the House and outside.

Mrs. Levick: Is that quite fair?

Mr. Lloyd George: I do not think it is, but let us take things as they are. I should vote for the Bill next year personally, but I am only stating the fact.

"I Grieve for It!"

In reply to a question as to whether he could not do a good deal to alter people's minds, the Chancellor proceeded:—

Not as long as these people are going on like this. I am very sorry for it. I

grieve for it. Militancy broke out immediately after the Prime Minister's declaration, which, at any rate, marked a distinct advance in the position of the Government. Whether it went far enough is another matter. It is an arguable proposition. But, at any rate, the Prime Minister's declaration marked an enormous advance in the position of the Government with regard to procedure in reference to women's suffrage Bills. The militants were begged by every supporter to prolong the truce. They were asked by people who had supported them steadily for years. I happen to know that. But they absolutely refused. Militancy broke out, and the result was that instead of having a majority of 167, the cause has gone down rapidly ever since. It is not the fault of your Society. You are doing your best by rational methods to convert the public. But they are doing their best to arouse anger, resentment, and hatred.

Cold Comfort

Mr. Lloyd George had nothing very definite to say when Miss Shepherd asked him what methods he would suggest their using in order to press for a Bill. He said:

Work to secure pledges from candidates that they will not merely support this question, but that they will press for the consideration of the Bills and press for facilities to get the Bills through. I cannot think of anything else you can do. You would then be not only well within your rights; it is your duty to press candidates to give pledges of that kind. I should have no hesitation at all in assenting to questions of that character being put to me.

With this cold comfort in lieu of a pledge, the deputation withdrew.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

The Women's Freedom League delegates then entered the room, and Mrs. Schofield Coates, in a long speech, asked for a definite pronouncement from Mr. Lloyd George as to what he thought the Government intended to do for Woman Suffrage. A tirade against militancy would not be an answer to the deputation, she declared, and she added that the Government was responsible for militancy.

Mr. Lloyd George: I should like to know exactly what I am expected to do.

Mrs. Coates: I ask you to bring in a Bill for the enfranchisement of women and get the Government to back it.

Mr. Lloyd George: Supposing they say they would not?

Mrs. Coates: Mr. Asquith was not very keen on the land question and you made him take that up.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE DOES NOT AGREE

Mr. Lloyd George strongly dissented from this view of the question. He said:

I do not agree with you at all. Mr. Asquith has been quite keen on the land question. He has always spoken quite strongly on the subject of land reform, but he is emphatically against woman suffrage, and he has half the Cabinet with him. What would be the position of Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, and myself and those who support the cause if the Government refused to bring it in? We can either enter into an arrangement whereby it is an open question, and each member of the Ministry can vote as he pleases. The next thing we can do is to resign. Let us assume that half the members of the Cabinet resigned and carried with them their sympathisers on the suffrage. Do you realise what that means? It means that every great question for the promotion of which we have been working all our lives and which are just as sacred to us as the cause of suffrage is to you, would be wrecked. Welsh Disestablishment, Home Rule, land reform, are they all to be wrecked?

He Draws a Pathetic Picture

Just think of what would happen. Let us assume that Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, and myself and other Ministers were to walk out of the Cabinet. I do not want to exaggerate our importance or influence, but it would produce a very serious split in the party, and I have a horror of splitting parties. But what would happen? Is there any other party that would promote Women's Suffrage Bills? Does anyone imagine that Lord Robert Cecil and Lord Hugh, who are keen Suffragists, are going to make it a con-

dition of their supporting a Tory Ministry that that Ministry should promote a Woman Suffrage Bill? Are you going to support the cause in the slightest degree by doing that?

Uses Militancy Again as an Excuse

One of the delegates having very properly referred to the fate of former Suffrage measures, Mr. Lloyd George at once used militancy afresh as an excuse for the Government's inaction.

I do not think, he said, there is the slightest hope of a measure being carried in this Parliament. There is a majority against it for the first time. There was a time when the people were indifferent about it, but the people who were indifferent are now hostile. Roughly speaking, I should say two-thirds of the Liberal Party are for the Suffrage, and one-third anti-Suffrage. Perhaps I am understating the strength of the Suffrage position in the Liberal Party, but at any rate we had to convert the one-third. Does anyone in his sense imagine that you can convert Liberals who are doubtful about the subject by throwing pepper into the eyes of their cherished Leader, who has won the loyalty of the party more than perhaps any other Leader in my lifetime? I can understand Liberals who are hesitating being angered to such a pitch that they will not listen to Suffrage arguments at all. I know some who are; I know members of the Ministry who are.

Misstatements

Not content with misstating the facts of the attack upon Mr. Asquith (the throwing of pepper has been denied by the militants, who state that the substance thrown was coloured powder), the Chancellor proceeded to further exaggerations, declaring that nine men were nearly murdered because they were building a house that happened to belong to a Cabinet Minister. If, he said, a candle had not been blown out, nine innocent workmen would have been murdered. Our readers will remember that this grossly inaccurate charge was disposed of to all intents and purposes at the trial of Mrs. Pankhurst last April.

In the House of Commons, he continued, there is a very great reaction against the Suffrage. It is entirely attributable to militancy, and I have no hesitation in saying that in my own constituency there has been a serious change of view on the subject, as there has been elsewhere. Another mistake is to assume that women are in favour of it. My own observation has been

that women have been alienated more than men by these outrages.

Dislikes "Painful Sights"

Mr. George then spoke of the painful sight of women being dragged out of public meetings, and said he understood that the Women's Freedom League merely resisted paying taxes. That was annoying to him as a tax collector, but he was once a passive resister, and he had no right to protest against passive resistance. But the people of this country would not listen to their argument until the commission of crime had ceased to be a weapon in the armoury of Suffragists for carrying through their proposals. One thing he would not do. He would not imperil Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, or Land and Housing Reform merely in order to embark on some quixotic strategy for the purpose of promoting Woman Suffrage when he knew it would end in disaster for that cause itself.

Laughs at an Honourable Proposal

The following dialogue between Mr. Lloyd George and the deputation is perhaps the most instructive portion of the whole interview.

Mrs. Coates: Why not get Mr. Asquith to resign?

Mr. Lloyd George laughed, and Mrs. Coates remarked: Mr. Chamberlain resigned on Tariff Reform.

Mr. Lloyd George: What has been the result? Has he carried it?

Mrs. Coates: This matter would be carried.

The Chancellor evaded this suggestion, and warmly repudiated another that was made that Home Rule had been promoted by violent acts, and said the Irish never had a chance of succeeding until Mr. Parnell engaged in a constitutional agitation.

Mrs. Coates: What are you going to do for us?

A Cheering Promise!

Mr. Lloyd George: I can only do what I have already done. I cannot tell you what I do as a Cabinet Minister. But Suffrage members of the Cabinet always press the case for Suffrage by every legitimate means up to the point of rending the party. That I am certain they would not do. I shall vote for the Bill in all the stages. If I cannot get the larger Bill I shall vote for the smaller one.

Yet Another Part for Him to Play

During the informal discussion with which the interview closed, Mrs. Coates adjured the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be a St. George as well as a St. David.

WHAT WOMEN THINK OF HIS EXCUSES

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

The Women's Freedom League has issued a manifesto replying to Mr. Lloyd George's obvious inconsistencies. They point out with great force and frankness that he was wise in view of his dealings with the Conciliation Bill to refuse "to discuss his sincerity on this matter with our deputation"; and they ask what the Chancellor's stale advice to extort pledges from candidates has been worth in the past?

How can women follow this advice, they proceed to say, "seeing that woman suffragists are deliberately shut out from political meetings—his own at Middlesbrough being a case in point? The Bishop of Winchester shows truer statesmanship in telling the Government that a truce of militancy must be accompanied by a definite promise of a Government measure."

He Goads Women to Militancy

The manifesto concludes by saying:—"We ask if Mr. Lloyd George supposes that militant women are likely to be converted to peaceful methods by the brutal torture of suffragist women in prison by paid medical hirelings? If he shares that view with Mr. McKenna, we can only say that he fails to understand the reading of British history. Such brutality, the vindictive sentences of magistrates on women suffragists, the hysteria of Liberal stewards, the trickery and shuffling of the Government in dealing with this question of Woman Suffrage, and the canting homilies of Liberal Cabinet Ministers on the subject of militancy are the cause of the present revolt amongst women. One of Mr. Lloyd George's speeches on this subject does more to goad women to militancy than all the work of the militant organisations."

LADY BETTY BALFOUR

In a speech made at Meaton Moor last week Lady Betty Balfour dealt very wittily with the recent utterances of Liberal Cabinet Ministers, and stated her belief that a Conservative Government, if returned, would remove the sex disability. Dealing with the Chancellor's assertion that it was because of militancy that nothing more could be done in this Parliament, she said she thought it was far more because of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Soup, Fish and Game for Women too!

She considered a point had been gained when Sir Edward Grey said that never again could a Reform Bill be brought forward without including some women. At the same time, it was rather like asking somebody who had no food at all to be satisfied if, after a man had soup, fish, and game, he turned round and said, "Well, I won't have any pudding until you have had some." That would not leave the hungry stomach very well satisfied.

AN EAR TRUMPET FOR THE LIBERAL PARTY

"The poor old Tory Party," said Mr. Lloyd George at Middlesbrough, "must not hear the tramp of the great new forces that are marching along the high road on the way to battle for a free land."

The poor old Liberal Party he might have added (though he wouldn't), need not be told not to listen to the same ominous sounds, for it is quite obvious that Liberals have become stone deaf to the women's "battle for a free land."

What is really wanted, Mr. Lloyd George, is an ear trumpet for the Liberal Party!

(Mrs. Pankhurst's strong denunciation of Mr. Lloyd George will be found on page 102.)

VOTES FOR HOUSEWIVES!

The People's Food and the Baby's Milk—Pure Food and Pure Milk Bills Hung Up—Woman's Vote Wanted to Safeguard the Nation's Larder

A small paragraph, tucked away in the corner of an evening paper (the *Evening Standard*, November 4), headed "Small Fines for Adulteration," sets one thinking. It states that the Camberwell Borough Council is approaching other local authorities in London on the subject of the smallness of fines inflicted for offences under the Sale of Food and Drugs and Public Health Acts. The note ends: "It is suggested that representations should be made to the Home Secretary."

No Hope in Approaching Mr. McKenna

Any kind of agitation with regard to a subject so gravely affecting the lives of children and the health of the nation generally is to be welcomed, and we are glad to see that the municipal bodies (the only public bodies, by the way, with the woman's vote behind them) are moving in the matter. But we fear that not much is to be hoped from the result of an interview with the Home Secretary, and for two reasons:—(1) Because the Home Secretary is a member of the Government that in the last session of Parliament blocked the Pure Milk Bill and prevented the Pure Food Bill from proceeding beyond its first reading. (2) Because by his opposition to woman suffrage and by his treatment of suffragist prisoners he has demonstrated (a) the cheapness in which he holds human life in comparison with property, and (b) his failure to grasp that it is the votelessness of the housewives of the nation that accounts for the want of public pressure that alone forces non-party measures of this kind through Parliament.

Useless Without the Woman's Vote

Deputations may go to the Home Secretary *ad infinitum*; organisations like the Pure Food and Health Society of Great Britain, recently invested under a licence of the Board of Trade with powers to supplement the activities of the official food inspectors, may do admirable work in drafting legislation and instituting legal proceedings against the vendors of adulterated food. But until those who have to buy and prepare the food of every household, and are mainly responsible for the health of the family in so far as this depends upon its food supply, until they, the women of the nation, have won their political weapon the vote, legislation safeguarding the nation's food will be continually set aside in favour of party measures, will probably be ineffectual if passed (as the Misdescription of Fabrics Bill was rendered ineffectual in committee), and will never be enforced in the Courts as it would be if women counted equally with men in the political arena.

What Adulteration Means

Those who are left cold by accounts of the effect of bad food upon the public health will, we imagine, be startled to hear that, according to a leaflet issued under the auspices of the Pure Food and Health Society, "unscrupulous tradesmen defraud the unsuspecting and the too often indifferent public of something like £20,000,000 a year." But the readers of this paper will probably be affected less by the fact that in buying adulterated food they do not get full value for their money (that they don't get any lemon oil in their lemonade, or oranges in their orange marmalade, for instance), than by the much more serious fact that the substances used in adulteration are frequently injurious to health, and, in the case of children, very gravely injurious.

Sensational Food Facts

Here are some of the instances given in the leaflet from which we have already quoted:—

"Butter with 11 per cent. excessive water, golden syrup of which 70 per cent. is glucose, milk diluted with water in varying proportions, potted shrimps with 70 grains and potted meats with 25 grains of boric acid per pound, vinegar in a pint of which were 75 grains of metallic copper."

The Staff of "Life"

And do our readers know that bread is one of the worst adulterated commodities, often containing a bleaching powder called by bakers an "improver," which is really a powdered chemical manure, and rots the

teeth, besides being injurious in other ways?

"The First Bit of Fruit She Had Seen!"

It would be easy to multiply sensational instances of the way that the nation's food is tampered with, of the alleged manufacture of wooden pipes for raspberry jam, and so on. Probably we all remember the story—was it fact or fiction?—of the woman charged in the police-court with stealing an orange in the jam factory where she worked, her defence being that she could not resist the temptation because it was the first bit of fruit she had seen since she went there!

The Indifference of the Courts

But, from our point of view, the slackness of Parliament in dealing with new legislation (such as Mr. Burns's Pure Food Bill and Pure Milk Bill) and the slackness of the Courts in enforcing the law as it stands, are the two points to be noted particularly by women, because it is here that the want of the woman's vote is most obvious.

Dangers to Infants

We recall to our readers the case mentioned by us in our issue of October 3, of the milkman charged at Tottenham Police Court on September 25 with selling milk adulterated with one part in 70,000 with formic aldehyde. This is a forbidden preservative, and even one part in 100,000 is dangerous. In court it was said to be a dangerous poison, and one that caused the person who took it to waste. The effect upon infants and young children of the sale of such milk can be imagined. Yet the sentence given was a fine of £3 and costs!

Dangers to Adults

As an instance of the danger to adults of undiscovered food adulteration, a case given in the *Times* of October 9 may be cited. A farmer was charged at Devonport Police Court with selling sausages mixed with boric acid to the extent of twenty-eight grains to the pound; and in a second case the boric acid had been added to the extent of 112 grains to the pound. Two medical officers of health testified that boric acid gave rise to grave gastric disturbance, and that some people were very seriously affected by it. Yet the fines imposed in these two cases were 10s. and £2, respectively!

"Pure Cream"

Again, in a cream adulteration case, heard in the Clerkenwell Police Court on July 16 last, a lady, ordered to take cream for her health, was made much worse instead of better by the cream supplied to her as "pure cream," and it was found on analysis to contain an admixture of boron trioxide equal to 0.36 per cent. of crystallised boric acid. The milkman who supplied this mixture was fined £1 10s. and £1 3s. costs.

Housewives Must Get the Vote!

We wish the municipal authorities all success in their mission to the Home Secretary to demand at least a more stringent enforcement of the existing law, if new legislation is to continue to be blocked by the Government. But, remembering how the Suffragette, who breaks a little plate-glass as a protest against the votelessness which prevents her from attacking such evils as food adulteration and infant mortality, is given weeks and even months of imprisonment, often with hard labour, while the man who outrages little girls, or the husband who beats his wife, gets off with a paltry fine, we cannot see how, logically, Mr. McKenna can lend an ear to a plea for greater severity in punishing those who merely make a profit out of sowing ill-health among babies and grown-up people. Nor have we much hope that any law safeguarding human life will ever be rigorously enforced in this country till women are made to count by the possession of the vote.

What Chance Has New Legislation?

Also, we note that whereas the Pure Food Bill that was originally drafted by the Pure Food and Health Society and has now been dropped by them in favour of Mr. Burns's Bill, contained a clause proposing that when a second offence has been committed, with intent to defraud, the penalty shall be imprisonment without the option of a fine, in the Bill now before

Parliament, this clause does not appear, and only such imprisonment is provided for as is authorised by the existing law—that is, in Section 17 of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1899. And under this Act, although imprisonment may be imposed up to three months, we cannot learn of any conviction in which an offender has been sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine.

We notice also that in a recent speech

Dr. Dutton stated that when a dairyman had been fined for adulteration, the law, as it stood, protected him against the re-examination of his milk for another two months, thus making it possible for him to recoup himself by water adulteration during that time.

There is no doubt that until housewives win the vote, reformers may whistle for effectual legislation to deal with the evils that beset the homes of the nation.

THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

IN THE UNITED STATES

New Move in the House of Representatives

A Central News cable states that the House of Representatives has appointed a committee to hear arguments on the question of Woman Suffrage. Representative Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists will be given an equal chance of presenting their case; and, adds the cablegram, it is very probable that Mrs. Pankhurst may be asked to speak.

How the Movement Stands in the States

It may be useful to recall exactly how the Suffrage movement stands in the States. The most important factor in it at the moment is the possible fate, now trembling in the balance, of the Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution which is one of the chief measures before the Congress. The resolution for the Amendment was introduced in both Senate and House of Representatives on the first day of the special Session, which opened on April 7. In June, the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage reported favourably on the Bill. On July 31, when Suffragists from all over the States presented their petitions to the Senate, twenty-two speeches were made in favour of the Bill and only three against it. Since then, on September 18, a brilliant speech has been made by the Hon. Wesley Jones, Senator for Washington, urging the Senate to let the Bill take precedence of other legislation.

This has not yet been the case, but it is confidently hoped that both Senate and House will soon have the chance of voting on the Bill, and the proposed debate in the latter assembly will no doubt hasten this result.

If passed by a two-thirds vote in each House, the Bill will then have to be ratified by the Legislatures of thirty-six out of the forty-eight States of the Union, or by conventions in the same number of States.

Separate Action in the States

Besides this national action now being taken by Congress, active propaganda is being carried on in the separate States where women have not yet won the vote, in order to bring about Woman Suffrage piecemeal, as it were. There is no State in which the question can now be submitted to the voters before the next General Election, which takes place in November, 1914, when Montana, North and South Dakota, and Nevada, whose Legislatures have passed the Bill, will have to stand the test of the referendum. In New York, Pennsylvania, and Iowa, the Bill will have to pass a second Legislature first, and this cannot happen until the Session beginning January 1, 1915. In New Jersey, if the Bill passes in 1914 (which is practically certain), it will have to be approved again in 1915, and go to the voters in the autumn of 1915.

The Present Position

Nine of the States now enjoy full Suffrage, and twenty-one of the States something a little short of full Suffrage.

MR LEWIS HARCOURT AND AUSTRALIAN WOMAN VOTERS

In the course of a deputation from the Australian Women's Political Association to the Prime Minister of Victoria on October 2, Miss Vida Goldstein, the spokeswoman, entered a very strong protest against the post of Colonial Secretary being held by Mr. Lewis Harcourt. She said:—

We again enter our protest against a bitter opponent of woman suffrage like Mr. Lewis Harcourt holding the position of Colonial Secretary. We maintain that that office should not be held by a man who opposes a fundamental principle of our Constitution.

The Prime Minister: Oh dear! What could I do about that?

Miss Goldstein: You could inform the

Imperial Government that a man who takes the platform in opposition to a principle of the Australian Constitution is disapproved by Australians as Colonial Secretary. If the Colonial Secretary fought against a principle which would prevent qualified Australian men from acquiring the vote in Great Britain he would soon be made to feel the displeasure of our men.

WOMEN IN THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS

The woman Suffragists of Italy are fully alive to the insecurity of their position as voteless citizens, whatever temporary gains may be won by them through strenuous agitation. In a strongly-worded manifesto addressed to the electors in the recent Italian elections, the Turin Women's Franchise Society points out that while five million voters, large numbers of whom are illiterate, have been added to the electorate by the recent Reform Act, there are still eight million women, including many teachers, clerks, and others holding degrees, who are allowed no voice in the direction of their country's destinies. The manifesto then calls upon the men to put an end to "the enormity of this exclusion."

No Security Without the Vote

To the women the manifesto addresses a strong warning in the following words:

"Women!—employers, professional women, business women—if you desire to keep the position you have won, if you do not wish to find yourselves reduced to the status of machines for the use of men, who allow you to perform only the humblest and worst-paid work, rally to the flag, and join the cry, 'Votes for Women,' without which your position will never be secure."

The Working Men's Support

In Italy, says the *Labour Leader*, the Socialists have placed Woman Suffrage in the forefront of their programme. This need not rouse in us any undue elation, since the men of Italy have recently allowed a Bill to pass giving all men the vote, and have allowed the Woman Suffrage Bill to be rejected; but it is satisfactory to learn from a correspondent to the same paper that at a Socialist election meeting in an Italian village, "the speaker made a regular suffrage speech. 'Workmen and workwomen,' he began, 'men and women—for I am glad to see many women here—politics concern women as much as men,' and so on. The people applauded rapturously."

IN FRANCE

By 311 votes to 133 the French Chamber last Tuesday shelved the amendment to the electoral law, proposing to give the right to vote to French people of both sexes.



MISS RUTH SØRENSEN

Europe's first woman judge, who has just been elected to that position in Norway, where women vote.

(With acknowledgments to the "London Budget," in which this picture appeared on November 2.)

"JANE CLEGG" AT THE COURT THEATRE

There is something remorseless in the cleverness of Mr. St. John Ervine's psychology. There are just seven characters in his play now running at the Court Theatre, and they are seven individuals, not excepting even the two children, each of whom is a complete little personality, as different as possible from that painful compound of precocity and slobbery sentiment which generally passes for a child on the stage. The vulgar little bookmaker, Mr. Munce, and the rather superior Mr. Morrison, are drawn as uncompromisingly as the rest, though they barely come into the play at all, and in less artistic hands than Mr. Ervine's might easily have been made an excuse for what are known as character parts. They are emphatically not character parts; nobody in "Jane Clegg" is a character part. They are all commonplace people, grouped together in a commonplace, almost sordid situation, set in a scene that does not change throughout the play, and is the dullest that could well be imagined as a background to any story. Yet Mr. St. John Ervine has made of his material one of the most brilliant plays that the London stage has seen for a long time.

The wit of the piece is centred in Mrs. Clegg, the old mother. She gets all the laughs, and achieves the rare success of winning one almost before the curtain has done rising on the first act. Yet there is never a false note in anything she says. She is the typical mother of a day that is nearly gone, seeing no harm in the son that is hers, inclined to blame his wife for all his shortcomings, woefully prone to spoil his children, and then, when he brings disgrace upon them all, the first to think of what the neighbours will say rather than of any effect that his sin may have upon his immortal soul. It would be scarcely possible for any playgoer who is past, or passing, middle-age, not to have known a Mrs. Clegg more or less intimately at some time or another. That is why she keeps her audience in roars of laughter, though she never makes a joke as such; and it is she, not the intelligent and strong young wife, Jane Clegg, who utters

the supremely human sentence of the play. It occurs when the cashier, Mr. Morrison, declines to make allowances for her son's embezzlement of the firm's money.

"And why," she exclaims (we quote from memory), "do you suppose there is a merciful Father, if there's nothing for Him to be merciful about?"

Jane Clegg is, however, the creation of the play. She says less than anyone, moves about less, and varies her tone and manner less than anyone else. But we come away with a picture of her in our mind that is not easily forgotten, a picture of a woman who has suffered so much through loss of love, loss of faith, and loss of respect for her worthless husband that it has left her almost devoid of the capacity even for suffering. One of the truest among many true sayings in the third act is that of Henry Clegg, when he says that she is too good a woman to have kept him straight; the girl, Kitty, to whom he is going is "rather worse" than he is, and she will understand him better. This is the whole truth. Jane Clegg could never keep a waster from wasting; she is not the type of woman who would stoop to "manage" a man. She leaves that to women like his mother. So between the two women, the one who has never appealed to the best in him because she saw no bad in him, and the one who appealed to what wasn't there and refused to take anything less, Henry Clegg goes under.

The last scene between husband and wife is supreme. He expects tears, regrets, some kind of a scene. He would have got all that from the kind of woman he understands. From Jane Clegg he gets none of them. He has killed her love long ago, and to-night he has forfeited her last shred of faith and loyalty. Why should she mind his going? It will leave her a free hand with her own future and that of her children whom she adores. So he goes, puzzled and ludicrously aggrieved. She waits for the door to bang, and then puts out the gas and goes to bed.

And the queer part of it is that although the whole thing seems rather pitiable and depressing, we know that Jane Clegg is going to get her chance at last.

E. S.

ANNIE SPONG



and her

dancers

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PAMPHLETS FOR SUFFRAGISTS

"Fiat Lux," by Kate C. House (a paper read to mothers at the Wycombe Abbey School Parents' Conference, April, 1913, price 2d.).—This is a plea for the method of speaking openly to children and young people about the facts of birth and parenthood. The pamphlet puts the case simply and naturally, and is the very thing to give to parents and teachers who have not yet thought out this problem for themselves.

"John Hampden," by Mrs. Darent Harrison (published by the Women's Tax Resistance League, price 1d.).—This short appreciation of the great Tax Resister was written for the unveiling of his statue at Aylesbury, in which ceremony the Women Tax Resisters' League were refused inclusion. It contains an interesting account of those women of Hampden's day who joined in refusing to pay Ship-Money. The Demonstration of August 9, 1693, when some 5,000 women assembled round Westminster Hall and sent in a petition for peace, is instructive reading. They were fired upon and charged by cavalry, some seven or eight being wounded.

"Man, Woman, and the Machine" (an address given before the New Constitutional Society for Woman's Suffrage, by John Cameron Grant, published by the above Society).—Here we have a lucid explanation of the position of woman in the labour market, especially in the domain of machinery and mechanical appliances. Men are displaced by lower-paid women in factories and workshops. The only remedy (and one which the Labour Party is beginning to recognise) is that women should have the vote and so be able to enforce their demands for equal wages with men, instead of, as at present, underselling their labour.

"Regulated Vice and the Traffic in Women." By W. J. Payling Wright, B.A. (The British Committee of the International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Prostitution, 19, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W. Price 1d.)

This pamphlet (reprinted from the "Shield" for January and April, 1913) deals with the subject on two points:—1, The Maison de Tolérance. 2. The Segregated Area, as these so-called "safeguard" systems are practised in various countries. After a

searching enquiry into these methods the writer, like most workers and investigators, comes to the conclusion that segregation and regulation of vice "has been thoroughly tried and demonstrated to be a failure in all the foreign countries in which it has been inaugurated."

"The Traffic in Women." By C. Nina Boyle. Unchallenged facts and Figures. (Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Price 1d.)

A valuable little pamphlet which deserves wide circulation. It contains clearly stated facts and statistics, (which are unchallenged) relating to the infamous White Slave "industry." The concise collection of these facts should be of great assistance to speakers and writers on the subject, whilst every thinking man and woman should know the actual state of affairs made known in these brief pages.

"The Economic Aspect of Woman Suffrage." By Ephedros, and "Women's Need of Women Lawyers," by a Woman LL.B. of T.C.D. (Both published by the Irish Women's Reform League, 29, South Ann Street, Dublin. Price 1d. each.) These are concise, informing tracts on the two subjects in question, both of interest to women.

"The Soul of Women's Suffrage." By the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman, Chaplain of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy, London (price 1d.), is also a publication from the Irishwomen's Reform League. Originally given as an address under the auspices of the above League, it sets forth the evolutionary and moral principles underlying woman's demand for the vote. The writer, so well-known an advocate of the Cause, ably gives his reasons for being so. He considers the movement destined to do incalculable good in the World.

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"The Chairman's and Debater's Handbook." By D. M. Ramsom. Routledge's Miniature Reference Library. (George Routledge and Sons. Price 6d. net).

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1913

GOVERNMENT BY MINORITY

The Women's Freedom League, in their interview with Mr. Lloyd George at Middlesbrough last Friday, suggested to him that the right course for suffragist Cabinet Ministers was to threaten to resign unless a Government measure for woman suffrage were introduced. Mr. George repudiated this idea, and asked of what use it would be if Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, and himself, together with the other suffragist Ministers, were to walk out of the Cabinet. It would, he said, only let in a Conservative Government, which would be equally divided on the question.

We hope that this specious reasoning will not deceive any one who has the cause of woman suffrage really at heart. What is the true position? It is admitted that there is a majority in the Cabinet, and an overwhelming majority in the Liberal Party, both in the

House of Commons, and throughout the country, in favour of this reform. Yet no effective progress is made. And the reason is that the small minority who are opposed to it have barred the way by the threat of resignation; and the supporters of woman suffrage are so much weaker in their advocacy than opponents are in their opposition that they are content to allow this threat to reduce them to submission.

It is quite absurd to assume, as Mr. Lloyd George and his admirers are fond of doing, that the difficulty with regard to woman suffrage is unique. Similar situations invariably arise when any new reform is taken up by the Liberal Party. There is always a small minority who oppose it, but this minority has to bow to the will of the majority. Does any one suppose that the whole of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, or even the whole of the Cabinet, were in thorough sympathy with the great Budget of 1909, or the Parliament Bill, or the Insurance Bill, or the present Home Rule Bill, or the Welsh Disestablishment Bill? Of course they were not. In every case there was a minority who profoundly disliked them, but they had to accept them because the great majority of the party were prepared to see them through.

The only feature of the present situation, which is really unique, is that an insignificant minority claim to place their veto upon a reform which is not only demanded by the great majority, but is an essential part of Liberal principles, and that the majority are prepared to admit this audacious claim. This is Government by minority, and is contrary to the whole theory of the Constitution.

When, therefore, Mr. Lloyd George assumes that if he and his colleagues were to make a firm stand for woman suffrage, the result would be that he and they would have to leave the Cabinet, he is begging the whole question. As a matter of fact, the exact opposite would be the case, for the simple reason that the supporters of woman suffrage form the great bulk of the Liberal Party, while, with the single exception of Mr. Asquith himself, there are no figures of outstanding importance who oppose it. The threat of resignation would not, therefore, result in the suffragist Ministers leaving the Cabinet, it would not even cause a serious split in the party, it would simply result in bringing the party to their senses, and if one or two resignations of anti-suffragists were to follow, their places could very easily be filled up. Mr. Asquith himself, the moment he saw that his suffrage colleagues were determined, would find some way either of falling into line with their wishes, or of effecting a retirement in some such way as would not break up the party.

It is of no use, therefore, for Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey, and Lord Haldane, to claim the indulgence of suffragists for their difficult position. So long as they consent to remain members of a Government which refuses to enfranchise women they are guilty of the same infidelity to Liberal principles as their anti-suffragist colleagues. In fact, they are to this extent more guilty, that they sin with full knowledge of the nature of what they are doing, while the genuine anti-suffragists sin in ignorance.

THE POLICE DANGER

One of the essential differences between the liberty enjoyed in this country and that enjoyed by our Continental neighbours has been, up till lately, an entire absence among us of the police methods in vogue in foreign countries. The events of the last few years, and particularly the events of the last few months, are bringing home to many of us that this immunity is seriously threatened to-day, if indeed it has not already disappeared.

The two features of the Continental police system which are most objectionable are, firstly, that the police are above the law; and secondly, that the police are not impartial, but act at the discretion of those in authority against the political enemies of the party in power.

The theory of the English law is that each individual policeman is amenable to justice in precisely the same way as the ordinary citizen, but anyone who has come into conflict with the police in any way during the last few years would laugh at the bare suggestion that this law is upheld in the Courts. In the first place, a most objectionable practice has grown up among magistrates of placing implicit belief in the word of a policeman against the precise evidence of some of the most respectable and reliable members of the community; in the second place, even when the most serious assaults by the police upon members of the community have been established, they have been condoned on the ground that they were

rendered necessary, where, as a matter of fact, no such necessity was ever shown.

We are not suggesting that policemen are worse than other men; but there are black sheep in every fold, and this immunity from punishment provides a very serious encouragement to individual members of the police force to behave unwarrantably and brutally. But this is not all; there is springing up among the officers of the police force an idea that certain lines of conduct which would not have been tolerated in this country a few years back, are not only permissible, but right to-day. We refer in particular to the forcible entry into public meetings, to the storming of the platform by police with drawn batons in order to capture one of the speakers, and the wholesale violence meted out to peaceful members of the audience. We refer also to such scenes as were witnessed last week in Bow in the neighbourhood of Mr. Geo. Lansbury's house, of which we give this week a special account written by an eye-witness. We do not so much blame the individual officers who have been guilty of these outrages as the Home Secretary, who has sanctioned, and very probably suggested, the whole method of procedure.

The police make no secret of the license which is accorded to them in these actions, they frankly believe themselves to be above the law, and the decisions of the Courts and the attitude of the Home Secretary apparently endorse their view.

Another idea which is gaining acceptance among the police is that certain persons, particularly certain political opponents of the Government, are not entitled to protection. This view was flagrantly exemplified last summer in Hyde Park, when a small and perfectly manageable section of rowdies were allowed, without police interference, to behave in the most disgraceful way to suffragist speakers.

The London Police, being directly under Home Office supervision, were upheld in this conduct, and the Bristol police apparently supposed that they could copy their example. When, therefore, the Bristol students, on two successive occasions, rifled the suffrage shop and made a bonfire of the contents, the police remained entirely inactive. We are glad to see that the Bristol Watch Committee have censured this conduct, and have "suitably dealt" with four of the offenders. We hope that the method of "suitable dealing" has been such as to discourage a similar attitude on the part of the police in other provincial cities. But this is not enough, the new ideas of the license accorded to the police must be brought home to the Government, who are really responsible. If the free citizens of this country fail to do so, they will wake up before long to find themselves enmeshed in a police system as dangerous and as far-reaching as any of the police systems prevailing in Continental Europe.

SUFFRAGE FIRST

In our leading article last week we emphasised the importance of enrolling in every constituency a body of electors prepared to make woman suffrage the supreme political issue. We are glad to be able to state that this idea has already received a large measure of support, and that several suffrage societies are making plans for taking part in the common work. This is evidently an undertaking in which both militant and non-militant organisations can co-operate, and it is interesting to note that at the very time when our article was being penned, the Executive Committee of the Men's League, whose president is Lord Lytton, were deciding upon a course of action along the lines which we suggested.

It was never more important than at the present time that those who are determined to secure votes for women should place woman suffrage first, and should subordinate to it all other considerations. A great franchise victory cannot be fought for merely as one of a number of reforms, because being the hardest of all reforms to win, there is always the danger that it will be constantly postponed to the other proposals with which it is associated. It must therefore be singled out and fought for alone.

This does not mean that woman suffragists cannot welcome with friendliness the support given to their cause by others who do not take this view; but women can only do this in so far as it does not conflict with the fundamental conditions, firstly, of implacable hostility to any Government which refuses to enfranchise women; and secondly, of complete independence of every political party, whether Liberal, Radical, Conservative, Nationalist, Unionist, or other wing of the Labour movement.

"MARY SMITH OF STANMORE"

By S. D. Shallard.

If it were necessary to say who struck the first publicly effective blow in the modern struggle for Women's Emancipation, I should be inclined to name Mary Smith, of Stanmore, a Yorkshire lady, who, in 1832, performed the simple and courageous action of petitioning the House of Commons in favour of women's inclusion in the Reform Bill, the first petition of the kind appearing in the records of Parliament. That she would bring on herself ridicule and derision she must have known. No doubt, Mr. Hunt, M.P. for Preston, the brave man who undertook to present the petition, also knew what was in store for him; but "Orator" Hunt, as he was called, was used to standing up for unpopular causes—the interests of the poorest classes, for instance—and not only presented the petition, but supported it by speech.

"It is needless to say," remarks the *Morning Post* (August 4, 1832), "that the House was convulsed with laughter." It is, perhaps, equally "needless" to add that the laughter was evoked not merely by the nature of the petition, but by the choice and elegant character of the remarks which followed its presentation.

"Of a Hardy and a Shrewd Race"

Mary Smith was a lady of "rank and fortune," and, one authority adds, "of great talents," who lived "near Stanmore, in Yorkshire"—perhaps the Stanmore which stretches from Westmorland into North Yorkshire. It is a district which breeds a hardy and a shrewd race, and Mary Smith's action was both courageous and shrewd, for her petition was a hundredfold the value of any book or pamphlet or speech. It immediately obtained publicity throughout the English-speaking world—it was too good a joke to be missed—but the news must have startled many thousands of women into discussion of its proposals. Among its more immediate effects, it caused Mr. W. J. Fox, M.P. for Oldham, to prepare his powerful plea for women issued under the title of "A Political and Social Anomaly," and it appears to have impressed Sir Robert Peel, who spoke strongly for women's enfranchisement in the next Session, repeating some of Mary Smith's arguments.

Unfortunately, we have not the full text of the petition, for the Speaker (Mr. Manners-Sutton) ruled that it could not be printed, and even the summary in Hansard, it will be seen, is disfigured by a discreditable paraphrase—no doubt intended to be humorous—of the latter portion of the document. According to Hansard (1832: XIV.: 1,086):—

"Mr. Hunt said, He had a petition to present which might be a subject of mirth to some hon. Gentlemen, but which was one deserving of consideration. It came from a lady of rank and fortune, Miss Mary Smith, of Stanmore, in the County of York. The petition stated that she paid taxes, and therefore did not see why she should not have a share in the election of a representative. She also stated that women were liable to all the punishments of the law, not excluding death, and ought to have a voice in the making of them; but so far from this, even upon their trials, both judges and jurors were all of the opposite sex. She could see no good reason for the exclusion of women from social rights, while the highest offices of the State, that of the Crown, were open to the inheritance of females."

The Official Joke

Hansard then goes on (my italics): "And, as we understood, the petition expressed her indignation against those vile wretches who would not marry, and yet would exclude females from a share in legislation." (This is the obvious paraphrase to which I have alluded.) "The prayer of the petition was, that every unmarried female possessing the necessary pecuniary qualification should be entitled to vote for Members of Parliament."

Then follows a summary of some ribald remarks by Sir Frederick Trench, such as would not be considered printable nowadays.

From these and the newspaper reports the re-

mainder of the remarks may be surmised. One leading newspaper goes so far as to repeat throughout its report a misprint intended to convey an obscene meaning. Apparently this was not the worst, for Mr. W. J. Fox, M.P., in the *Weekly Register*, referring to "the foolish and disgusting conversation" which followed the presentation of the petition, notes that "many newspapers declined to publish what we will not insult the poor by calling pot-house ribaldry."

How Ridicule Was Killed

Such was the spirit in which the gentlemen of England, gathered to discuss a great revolution in methods of representation, received the first woman to knock at the door of the modern House. Truth to tell, the spirit did not greatly improve until during recent years. There was a growth in decorum, of course, and the worst type of "jokes" were made behind the hands of hon. Members, but they were still easily "convulsed with laughter" until the militant women's movement brought fear and hatred to drive out ridicule.

It may not be uninteresting to quote some of the

words of Sir Robert Peel to which reference has already been made. Speaking in the following Session, he said: "There were arguments in favour of extending the franchise to women to which it was no easy matter to find a logical answer. Other and more important duties were entrusted to women. Women were allowed to hold property, to vote on many occasions in right of that property; nay, a woman might inherit the throne and perform all the functions of the first office of the State. Why should they not vote for a Member of Parliament?"

"Her Courage in Both Hands"

These arguments, and the arguments of the petition, seem to us now, perhaps, somewhat trite and over-worn, yet in the day when they were uttered, in the day when "Mary Smith, of Stanmore," took her courage in both hands and presented her petition, they were still startlingly novel. In those days, too, logic was still supposed to count for something, even in politics, and it was not considered decorous to admit that public men, especially legislators, are actuated by almost any other motive power than logic or a simple sense of justice.

A WOMAN DOCTOR'S WARNING

(To the Editors of "Votes for Women")

Dear Editors,—I have just been reading your article on "A New Menace to Women." To my mind it is an interesting and unfortunate fact, that when women hear for the first time of the existence of venereal diseases, they always rush to the conclusion that compulsory notification is the only possible means of cure. It is only after further and more careful study that one realises, firstly, the dangers, and, secondly, the uselessness, of such a measure.

Dangers of Compulsory Notification

The dangers are, to women, very great. Notification, even a secret medical notification, means that the family doctor has to violate the professional honour and secrecy that has for centuries existed in the relationship of doctor to patient. We doctors never speak of our patients to any outsider, except with that patient's leave. Nor do we make use of any knowledge which comes to us through our medical dealings with our patients.

All this is to be changed. The family doctor notifies the existence of venereal disease, not disease contracted innocently, but disease contracted because of the infidelity or immorality of the husband or wife, as the case may be. It means a breaking up of the family and exposure to the medical officer of health and his clerks, and perhaps all their friends and relations. Then men doctors are in the majority—they are very loyal to each other—and I do not think a man doctor would be as likely to notify the patient, who is also, perhaps, his college chum, and who, perhaps, originally contracted gonorrhoea on the same occasion as himself, as he is likely to notify the unfortunate syphilitic servant girl who has come to him for advice and help.

Difficulty of Diagnosis

Then there is another danger, the difficulty of diagnosis—all doctors are not specialists in venereal disease—and there is nothing in the world more difficult to the general practitioner than an absolutely certain diagnosis in these diseases. There are, of course, plenty of good typical cases that even a medical student can diagnose, but what about the cases, with indefinite lesions, and still more indefinite and unreliable histories; for in no other disease are the patients so liable to give inexact and untruthful accounts of the date and mode of infection.

Then, as to the uselessness of notification. Granted the doctor has reported the case, and the house, the date and the age, and perhaps a few remarks as to the exact lesion, what next? You can't isolate a man for two or three years. You can't stop him working. He has his living to earn, and is perfectly able to continue his profession as lawyer, actor, and even doctor (with antiseptic or aseptic precautions!). You can't insist upon his taking his medicine. You can't even separate him from his wife, who has by this time probably contracted it herself, and who needs bread and butter and clothes just as much now, as before. In fact, she would not care to be

separated from him, probably, even had she the chance.

Patient Will Treat Himself

No, you say, but notification means that he will be medically treated. Not at all. The patient of the future will keep away from all skilled doctors, fearing notification. He will read up the disease in some second-rate "Physician in the Home" book, and treat himself. Only the mentally deficient men, and the absolutely ignorant and innocent girls will ever go to the doctor. What the "notification" doctors hope is that they will get statistics and interesting records of the result of new treatments, but what are statistics compared to the breaking up of the home, the loss of the doctor as a friend, and confidant, and helper, and the fear that every eczema, or nettle rash, or conjunctivitis, may turn out to be an early symptom of a contagious disease, the result of immorality, one's own, or one's parents, or one's husband's, or one's wife's?

Effect of Treatment

You are right, we cannot take too much trouble to avoid notification of disease, or pregnancy; any notification, indeed, which involves a compulsory medical examination. I notice one misprint in your article. "Infected persons" may marry and infect their wives, but they do not "free their own systems" by so doing. This is, of course, a popular superstition, and has made the excuse for many a diseased man to infect a little innocent child. If no conception takes place, "the girl's body becomes the home of this terrible disease," but, unfortunately, this may be the case also, if the girl becomes pregnant. I quite recently had a little girl patient of fourteen years of age who had been infected with both syphilis and gonorrhoea, and yet gave birth to a healthy little boy—healthy, because of the careful medical treatment she received during the pregnancy, for syphilis is an essentially curable disease.

Nevertheless, "Colles' Law" exists, and many a mother apparently escapes infection herself, only to find that her baby, a few weeks after birth, falls a victim to the terrible disease. The Wassermann reaction alone is present in the mother—the only evidence that the seemingly healthy mother is yet able to infect her child.—Yours, etc.

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(See Page 91.)

REFORM AND COERCION

"The Poor Muddle-Headed Magistrates Who Issued the Order at Peterloo for the Bringing-up of Troops Did More to Help on the Cause of Reform than all the Eloquence of Orator Hunt."

—Justin McCarthy in "England Before the Reform Bill."

Another attempt was made to re-arrest Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, last Wednesday week, at the close of a meeting in the Bow Baths at which she spoke, together with Mr. George Lansbury and Sir Francis Vane. Owing to the fact that her supporters surrounded her when she came out of the hall, the police were frustrated in their object, and she once more escaped. Extraordinary scenes took place, however, the police apparently losing all control, and thoroughly provoking a perfectly peaceable crowd. A great many people, both men and women, were badly knocked about; Miss Lansbury was arrested by mistake for Miss Pankhurst, and was hustled away to the police station before her identity was discovered, and Miss Emerson, who was walking down the street on her way home, was struck on the head and rendered unconscious for two hours, and is now suffering from a fractured skull.

A correspondent of a daily paper, who also experienced the extraordinary violence of the police, sends us an eyewitness account of what occurred, which we print below.

WHAT HAPPENED IN BOW ON NOVEMBER 5

By an Eye-Witness

It began quietly enough. By half-past seven a queue of old and young people was waiting at the door of the Bow Baths, while two pleasant-faced policemen looked on in dreamy peace. By ten minutes past eight the lively, but quite orderly and generally young crowd which filled the hall had just heard that the police were surrounding Mr. Lansbury's house, and in another minute they were rushing down to St. Stephen's Road, a short distance from the hall, a dark side street, where an imposing array of police in uniform, plain-clothes men, and mounted constables were drawn up in front of Mr. Lansbury's house, keeping an eye on an empty taxicab. The crowd, still orderly, was very anxious, afraid that Mr. Lansbury had already been arrested, and much surprised when he arrived from town and went into his house unmolested. The Press representatives followed, and your correspondent, the representative of a daily paper, was fortunate enough to be admitted to the house, where it was found that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and not Mr. Lansbury was the subject of all this attention. The police had been watching the house back and front for hours, determined to arrest her the moment she appeared.

Arrest of—Whom?

Well, it was a dark street; the crowd, chanting solemnly "Plain-clothes men are murderers," was pressing towards the fence, and it was natural that in their hurry the London police should arrest the first woman who came out of the door. She was not in the least like Sylvia Pankhurst; one could not even imagine Miss Pankhurst making up to look like her, but she was a woman, and she had been in Mr. Lansbury's house, and she was going out of it. Obviously she should be arrested, and after a short sharp tussle arrested she was, put into the cab and driven off to the police-station in charge of very hot but triumphant policemen, while the crowd followed as far as it could.

It was equally a matter of course that the real Sylvia Pankhurst should be allowed to walk up the brightly lighted steps to the narrow entrance to the hall and allowed later on to walk down again as freely, in the same glare and in full view of four staring police inspectors, and more plain-clothes men, uniformed police and mounted men than one could count.

Violence Expected

The meeting, which very quickly re-assembled, was in a state of intense excitement, nervous to a degree, ready to take alarm at the least noise from any part of the hall. With a vivid memory of the last meeting in that hall, it expected every minute that the police would rush in to arrest Miss Pankhurst. The sole sign of discretion shown by the police that evening was their failure to make such an attempt. Had they done so one cannot say what would have happened, but many among the audience, men and women alike, had come prepared for defence, though it was evident that collectively

they were extremely anxious that there should be no trouble.

The speeches were not inflammatory. Sir Francis Vane was almost dull, and Mr. Lansbury made his protest against the aggression of the police quietly enough. Miss Pankhurst, indeed, speaking of the need for trained defence, reminded her audience how severely women had been injured in the previous fracas; but she talked of drill and defence, not of riot and attack.

At the end Mr. Lansbury asked the audience to keep together as it went out, to make sure that Miss Pankhurst should not be arrested. That was its sole concern. If the police had stood by waiting only to rush when they were clever enough to recognise Miss Pankhurst, there need have been no trouble.

Batons Used

I waited by the hall in case Miss Pankhurst should be arrested on the steps, so by the time I went towards St. Stephen's Road the police had already been at work in Roman Road. Figures were running here and there, many of the girls obviously alarmed by what had happened; the mounted men were riding to and fro, and a little group of indignant, protesting people had gathered in the middle of the road, where Miss Emerson was lying unconscious on the ground. I learned later that she had been struck down by a policeman, and that she remained unconscious for two hours, but just then her friends were too concerned to give any account. The men I met told me the police had been using their batons freely, and one man told me he had picked a baton off the ground.

Police Violence

It was evident that the police were in a very ugly temper, and presently I had personal proof of that fact. There was no congestion at the corner of St. Stephen's Road, but suddenly I saw a policeman with a man in his grasp. He was shaking him violently; he flung him to the ground, and, stooping down, continued to hump him about with greater violence than I have seen a policeman exert. At last he raised the man to a sitting position, and with a final rough word left him. I protested against this behaviour, and told the policeman I would take his number; and a second policeman was so furious when he saw me write the number in my notebook, that he sprang forward, tried to snatch the book from my hand, and tore the page.

An Unprovoked Assault

The assault was quite unprovoked, and no apology was made, so presently, reflecting that a man who would treat an onlooker like that could not be trusted to deal with any crowd, I reported the case to one of the four inspectors. That was a still more surprising experience. The inspector, who said he could not himself receive my complaint, at once used every argument he could think of to prevent my pushing the matter further. I do not know if it is usual for those who complain to a police officer of a subordinate's misconduct to be met with this sort of childish attempt to hush it up.

A Childish Inspector

"Now, you weren't very much hurt, were you? And, after all, you do depend on the police for all sorts of help, don't you? The police are only human, you know, and this has been very difficult work to-night. You don't understand what we have had to do. Of course, the man was very wrong; but if you make any complaint, you must be prepared for a great deal of bother. You will have to go to the police-station, and that sort of thing, and you won't like it. You don't want to make trouble, do you? Ah, now!"—this with a pitiful attempt at cajolery—"now I see you're smiling, I know you don't want to make trouble."

There is no doubt that the officers had given unwise orders, or had let their men get out of hand, but this attempt to shield an offender was a very disagreeable revelation of the under side of police methods. I wonder what would have happened if the Press representative had been a policeman, and the policeman a suffragette?

"A Reign of Terror"

The idea that the police are justified in retaliatory methods (implied by the In-

spector's "the police are only human, after all") is rapidly poisoning the minds of the Force, but, after all, the violence displayed by the police that night in Roman Road was not retaliatory, but purely and shamelessly provocative. Government by police would be bad enough if the police were self-controlled; it means a reign of terror now.

A PEOPLE'S ARMY

On account of the repeated attacks upon the liberty of the subject which have characterised the recent dealings of the police with the Suffragists, the people of Bow and Bromley have formed the first corps of a People's Army, to be composed of both men and women, and to be used in self-defence on such occasions as we have described above. Sir Francis Vane has promised to drill and organise the Bow and Bromley Corps, with the help of other officers, and it is stated that all volunteers wishing to join can obtain enrolment forms from the offices of the East London Federation of the W.S.P.U., 321, Roman Road,

Bow, E. Drilling began in the Ethical Hall, Libra Road, Bow, on Wednesday evening.

At Manchester

Speaking at Manchester on Sunday evening, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst made a rousing appeal to Suffragists to enrol themselves in the new People's Army, saying she would send an officer to drill them as soon as a Manchester corps could be formed.

THE BRISTOL "POGROM"

Important Finding of the Watch Committee

The Bristol Watch Committee have been holding an inquiry into the conduct of the police who made no arrests and did not attempt to stop the wrecking of the W.S.P.U. shop by Bristol undergraduates on October 24 and 25.

The Committee found that on the first occasion the police were taken by surprise, and might be exonerated. But the police inaction on the second occasion they regarded as a grave error of judgment, and four police officers in question were dealt with suitably, the Lord Mayor afterwards announced.

The question is, what does "suitably" mean?

CABINET MINISTERS AND THEIR ACCUSERS

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON, M.P., AT WESTMINSTER

At the Caxton Hall last Monday evening, where the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade was speaking, the stewards were apparently rather more humane than usual—or is it possible that for once they were on the side of Liberalism and not of the Liberal Government?—for the speaker, after attempting vainly for some time to make himself heard above the din of accusing voices, had to appeal to his own friends to eject the interrupters, and even left the platform in order to direct them how to do it! How to Clear the Hall of Opponents before Making a Speech ought to make a good Christmas game in Cabinet circles this year!

MR. MCKINNON WOOD AT EDINBURGH

Several interruptions from Suffragists considerably disconcerted the Secretary for Scotland when he addressed a large audience in the King's Theatre, Edinburgh, last Saturday afternoon. He had hardly begun to speak when a woman rose in the dress circle and shouted "Murderer! How dare you come here?" She was, of course, instantly ejected, the truth being the last thing that can be endured by a Cabinet Minister.

A similar home truth was shot at the speaker by another woman in a box, who was similarly thrust out of sight and hearing by the stewards. A man in the dress circle demanded shortly, "Why don't you give women the vote?"—a simple question that everyone in the country would like answered. He was, however, immediately thrown out of the meeting, his question, as usual, unanswered.

Several other members of the audience interrupted in the course of the speech, an apposite reminder being that made by a woman from another box, who, when the speaker said Balie Pratt was making a good fight, cried, "Scotswomen are fighting, too!" Though turned out of the meeting, this interrupter managed to return and repeat her perfectly true remark from the orchestra stalls before she was again ejected.

CABINET COUNCIL UNDER POLICE PROTECTION

The Liberal newspapers seem to have no shame in announcing that the Ministers who attended the Cabinet meeting last Tuesday drove to Downing Street accompanied by detectives, and that a large extra force of police were on duty in the street and also in the Foreign Office quadrangle.

The same papers are very ready to ignore the Suffragist element in the anti-Government vote at the by-elections; but is it on account of James Larkin that Cabinet Ministers cannot move without an escort of police?

AN AMERICAN JEST

"Bradley Beach has two policewomen," said the hostess. "Who is Bradley Beach?" asked her English guest. "Bradley Beach is a New Jersey town." "Oh, I thought he was a man! One like Asquith, who has to be protected, you know." The two policewomen of Bradley Beach, by the way, are both suffragists.—The Woman's Journal (Boston).

DR. MACNAMARA, M.P., AT KEIGHLEY

Militant Suffragists who came to two election meetings addressed by the Secretary to the Admiralty at Keighley, last Monday, were treated with great roughness by the stewards and also by a gang of young hooligans outside after they had been ejected. They managed first, however, to remind Dr. Macnamara that he had no business as an honest Suffragist to remain in a Cabinet like the present one or to appear on a platform in support of a Liberal candidate.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

For Molesting a Child

The *Glasgow News* (November 8) reports case of a man aged 55, charged before Bailie Stark Brown at the Glasgow Southern Police Court with persistently soliciting and importuning a girl aged 13 years and 11 months. The Bailie took into consideration "the accused's previous good character."

Sentence: One month's hard labour.

For Assaulting a Wife

The *Islington News* (November 7) reports case of a labourer charged at the Clerkenwell Court before Mr. Bros with assaulting his wife. He came home drunk and attacked her in bed by striking her in the face; she was badly bruised, and had hemorrhage. She said she would forgive him, as he had never done it before.

Sentence: Bound over for 12 months.

HEAVY SENTENCES

For Begging

The *Croydon Times* (November 1) reports case of a labourer charged at the Croydon Borough Bench before the Mayor and Bench with begging from a plain clothes policeman. There were previous convictions. He was described as a rogue and vagabond.

Sentence: Three months' hard labour.

For Stealing Five Shillings

The *Beithnal Green News* (November 8) reports case of a man charged before Mr. Clarke Hall at the Thames Police Court with stealing 5s. from a gas meter.

Sentence: Two months' hard labour.

THE PENALISED MOTHER

We have no doubt that the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children would be able to produce reasons why the mother of five shamefully neglected children was sentenced by Mr. Mead at the Marylebone Police Court (see the *Paddington Times*, November 7) to six weeks' hard labour, while the father, also summoned on the same charge by the Society was merely bound over to come up if called upon. It is probable that the mother was the more to blame of the two, though if this was the case we wonder why the Press report did not think it necessary to mention the fact. But what we want chiefly to ask of the Society who summoned her and the magistrate who sentenced her is this: If a married mother is not the legal parent of her child, and is not held to be a sufficiently responsible person to say whether it shall be vaccinated or not, why is she considered a sufficiently responsible person to be sent to prison for neglecting it?

THE CHEAPNESS OF WIVES

The cheapness in which the person of wives is held is not a peculiarity confined to this country only. A case in New York State comparable to that of Mrs. Napolitano in Canada, which we exposed in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* some time ago, is now exercising the minds of American Suffragists. The *Daily Chronicle* gave the facts in its issue of November 7. A Mrs. Beesie Wakefield was a hardworking woman married to a dissolute man who contributed little to his home and children, while their mother kept the home together. When he finally assaulted her, goaded beyond endurance she attacked him in self-defence and killed him. Though all these extenuating circumstances were brought out at the trial, Mrs. Wakefield was condemned to be hanged within a month.

It is not conceivable that if the person of women were not held to be the property of the husband such a sentence could have been passed by any Judge. Our American fellow-Suffragists have our hearty good wishes for the success of their efforts to obtain a reprieve.

WOMEN ON WATCH COMMITTEES

It is a matter of great regret that Councillor Margaret Ashton's candidature for the Manchester Watch Committee was defeated by a majority of 51 to 42. As militant Suffragists are well aware, there is much need for women's supervision of the police where women offenders are in question, and they will endorse Miss Ashton's contention that women are much wanted in a city where (as in London and probably in most towns) there is not a matron in every police-station, so that women prisoners, when locked up for the night, are left in the hands of the police alone. The Watch Committee not only controlled these lock-ups, said Miss Ashton, but also the common lodging-houses, and there was no woman inspector of these houses as there ought to be.

No Women on any Watch Committee

Mr. Ross Clyne, who supported Miss Ashton's candidature, said that in the name of decency, humanity, and civilisation he appealed to the Council to elect her. For every three men arrested in Manchester there was one woman, and there ought to be women to supervise the police stations. Her election would set an example to other corporations, for, he stated, there was as yet no woman on any Watch Committee.

The *Manchester Guardian*, expressing regret at Miss Ashton's non-election, goes on to say: "Nobody who knows even the most ordinary duties of the police—especially during those hours of the night

when almost any solitary woman who is seen abroad is assumed by a great many men of all classes to have forfeited her claim to respect and consideration—can doubt that one or more women should have a part in police administration."

THE PUBLIC HEALTH

The Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases

The first meeting of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases was held last Friday. It was decided that future meetings should be held in private, and that a summary only of the evidence should be issued to the Press weekly. Women, already most insufficiently represented on the Commission by three only of their sex, and these by no means representative of the advanced woman's movement, will have less reason than before to feel any kind of confidence in a Royal Commission conducted on such lines.

The Bishop of London on Morality

Speaking at a large meeting of members of the Church of England's Men's Society in Leeds last week, the Bishop of London said that one of the worst evils which oppressed this country was that which made the White Slave Act necessary.

"I only know," he said, "that if we had not got that Act I should become an ardent Suffragist. It is this evil which is maddening the women to-day. Be merciful in your judgment if they do wild things; they have awakened for the first time to a realisation of how some men treat some women."

Proceeding, the Bishop said much of the evil was caused by the attitude of the respectable man in the club who said that these things must go on, because they were inevitable. "That men must sin for the sake of their health is an absolute Devil's lie," he declared.

A Press Comment

Now that we are going to have a Royal Commission on venereal disease, surely the Press can pluck up its courage and not have semi-poetical headlines, such as "The Hidden Plague." We regret to note here that the meetings of the Commission are to be held in private, and only a summary of the evidence will be issued every week. The worse an evil, the more reason for taking it up to the housetops and telling the world all about it to the smallest details. Concealment is always a false step; and we simply refuse to believe that there can be any good reason in this or any other case.—*Daily Herald*.

"A NEW MENACE TO WOMEN"

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—I am exceedingly glad that you have directed the attention of women to the very real danger which undoubtedly threatens our sex. I also had read "The Local Government Report on Venereal Diseases," and was horrified by the suggestions made therein.

With reference to your statements re certain proposed new powers for the Insurance Commissioners, they are only too true. At the International Congress of Medicine Sir John Byers declared that he had tried unsuccessfully to get the maternity benefit so arranged that one condition of its payment would be that the patient should "report herself regularly during pregnancy."

May I remind our readers that even if compulsory notification should apply only to those under the Insurance Act, it would include thousands of refined, educated young women, the wives of clerks and teachers, as well as hundreds of thousands of self-respecting women of the working class. Let us remember also that the most destitute of mothers is still our sister, and determine that we will have justice in this matter.

"The large majority of infected persons are males, and these are very important agents in spreading the disease." What injustice, then, to allow this poison to infect mother and child before compulsion dealing therewith.—Yours, etc., M. R.

London, S.W., November 9, 1913.

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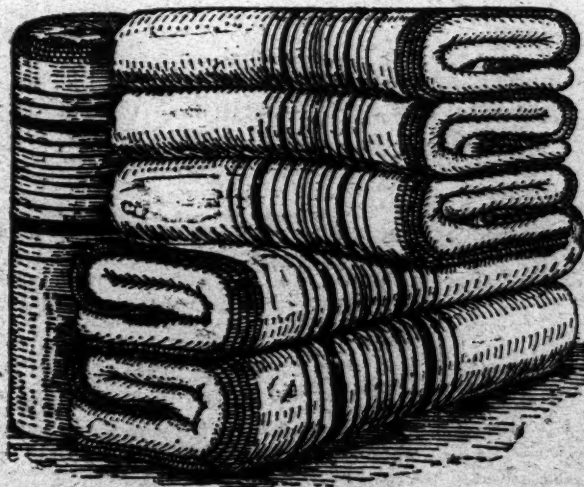
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LEGALISED TORTURE IN OUR PRISONS

The Responsibility of the Church, the Doctors, and the Public

The progress of the public towards a sense of its responsibility in the matter of the legalised torture now being practised in our prisons may be slow, but we have every reason to believe that it is sure. The Government's débâcle at Reading and Lillithgow, where the question of the prison treatment of Suffragists was well to the fore, is one indication of this. The forthcoming protest meetings organised by the Church and the Repeal the Act Committee are another sign, so are the resolutions passed, and the indignant protests from such staunch Liberals as Mr. Henry Holiday and in such progressive papers as the *Christian Commonwealth*. The rumour that forcible feeding is now being extended to the Irish prisons, where the Dublin strikers have been adopting the hunger strike as a protest against the injustice of their imprisonment, is another reminder to the men of the country that too much indifference to the wrongs of women will in the end encourage Governments to practise the same tyranny upon them.

Five Weeks' Torture

Miss Rachel Peace, who was to come up for her trial on Thursday after we went to press, has now been forcibly fed in Holloway Gaol for five weeks.

DUBLIN HUNGER STRIKERS

Forcible Feeding in Mountjoy Prison

The *Daily Herald* announced on Monday last that Mr. Frank Moss, one of the Dublin strikers, had been forcibly fed for more than a week in Mountjoy Gaol. It will be remembered that Mr. James Connolly, another Dublin hunger-striker, was released unconditionally at the end of four days' abstention from food.

The same paper on November 12 states that "several of the Dublin prisoners are hunger-striking, and are being forcibly fed in all the crude and deadly circumstances denounced again and again by medical men who think and feel, and by every element in the country that still retains a working conscience."

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

We are glad to see that the Church is rapidly awakening to a sense of its responsibility with regard to forcible feeding, and that a conference of Anglican clergy has been held on the subject, as a result of which a representative committee has been formed under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Kensington, and an important demonstration of protest has been fixed for December 5 at the Queen's Hall, when there will be an influential platform of Bishops and clergy.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE DOCTORS

An excellent leaflet has been prepared which states admirably the responsibility of the medical profession in the matter.

"Prostituting their Profession"

"Medical officers in H.M. prisons," says this leaflet, "are prostituting their profession in carrying out professional treatment under the orders of lay officials, and at their bidding forcibly feeding the prisoners. For the honour of the medical profession and the degrees conferred upon the men by these colleges, the Councils should reprimand and censure them."

The leaflet proceeds to give admirable quotations from Mr. McKenna's speeches to prove that forcible feeding is not applied to preserve life, but as a punishment or deterrent.

What the Public Can Do

The public are then warmly appealed to, and asked to write, and get others to write, to the Councils of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians, protesting strongly against their sanction being given to this so-called "medical treatment" by command of the Home Office. The leaflet, which supplies the names of all the members of both Councils, and should be widely circulated, may be obtained from Miss E. C. Haig, 8, Glebe Place, S.W.

A DOCTOR'S VIEW

Mr. Frank Moxon, M.B., B.S., protests in the *Daily Herald* "against my profession being made to carry out the inhuman tortures of a so-called Liberal Government." He further attacks the position of the prison medical officers thus:—

"It can be no defence on the part of the doctors to say that they are only acting on the orders of the prison authorities or of the Government, for a procedure which is useless to maintain or prolong life, which is used to coerce and break the spirit, is a torture, and, as such, cannot receive the sanction of medical custom. If the doctors carry out the orders of the authorities simply because they are their orders, despite the fact that they know them to be dangerous and useless, with equal justification might it be said that if they are told to poison their patients with, say, strychnine, then they must do so."

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PUBLIC

The Committee for the Repeal of the Cat and Mouse Act (8, Avenue Mansions, Finchley Road) will hold a public meeting

of enquiry at the Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C., on Tuesday, November 25, at 8 p.m. Dr. Flora Murray will take the chair, and the speakers will be Miss Abadam, the Rev. Ivory Cripps, and Mr. Israel Zangwill. Forcible feeding will also be denounced at the meeting, and political prisoners who have been subjected to this atrocious process will give evidence on oath.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolution, which was proposed by the Rev. F. M. Green and seconded by Miss Evelyn Sharp, was passed with one dissentient at a meeting held by the Civil Service Women's Suffrage Society at Essex Hall on November 3:—

"That this meeting of Women Civil Servants calls upon the Government to introduce and carry into law next session a measure conferring the Parliamentary Franchise on women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. It further protests against the Cat and Mouse Act and the revival of forcible feeding of Suffrage prisoners."

The Men's League

The Executive Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage has sent the following resolution to Mr. McKenna:—

"Owing to the deliberate renewal of forcible feeding in the case of certain woman suffragists, the Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage is compelled again to express its abhorrence of this practice, and it especially protests against the application of both forcible feeding and the provisions of the 'Cat and Mouse' Act to one and the same individual."

SUFFRAGISTS AT ST. PAUL'S

Last Sunday, in St. Paul's Cathedral, some twenty-five Suffragists again chanted a prayer for their persecuted comrades. On a former occasion the Suffragists were treated with the greatest roughness by the Cathedral vergers, but last Sunday there was no attempt to interfere with them, and they quietly walked out of the building.

THE GOVERNMENT DÉBÂCLE

The Real Reason for it

Writing to the *Daily News* last Tuesday, Mr. Henry Holiday disputes the contention that the Liberal losses at the by-elections of Reading and Lillithgow were due to "a reaction towards Toryism." Mr. Holiday attributes the Government débâcle to "the growing strength of Liberalism as it has always been understood, and the failure of the Government, both in its legislation and in its administration, to live up to the standard that has been set in the past."

Why the Government is Opposed

He goes on to refer to the Suffrage question, saying that "every woman suffragist and thousands of men all over the country are working hard to oppose any Government which inflicts this gross injustice on half the population, and which, not content with this, imprisons and tortures those few who are driven to violent courses."

Mr. Holiday concludes by saying: "If the retrograde members of the Cabinet will let their anti-Liberal prejudices even now yield to their professed Liberal principles and will bring in a Government measure including Woman Suffrage, they may redeem the situation. If not, they may take it for certain that the now widespread indignation will become wider and deeper and they will find themselves at the Next General Election deserted by all true and faithful Liberals, among whom I hope always to count."

A PRESS PROTEST

One very serious consequence of the long adjournment of Parliament is that no effective protest can be made against the administrative brutalities of the Home Office in the matter of forcible feeding. And it is becoming urgently necessary to arouse the Government to a sense of the enormities committed in the name of law and order and to bring pressure to bear upon them to check the growth of the extra-legal iniquities perpetrated day after day in English prisons.

If these practices are continued, and so long as the Government, who are ultimately responsible for them, give no sign that they are conscious of the horror and detestation they are causing in the minds of all honourable people, nobody can be surprised at any measures to which the women may resort to put a stop to them. Mr. McKenna's policy is dictated by no consideration beyond that of making the position of suffrage prisoners who come into his clutches so unendurable that they will abandon their propaganda in sheer terror of what awaits them in prison. A man who is capable of allowing his subordinates to treat women in the fashion Miss Richardson and other prisoners have been treated is not merely unfit for high office in the State, he is unfit for decent society. *Christian Commonwealth*.

Chapter 13

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THE DEPUTATION TO SIR EDWARD GREY

What His Constituents Said to Him About Coercion and Forcible Feeding

We gave a full report a fortnight ago of Sir Edward Grey's reply to the deputation of Berwick electors who waited upon him with a demand for a Government measure of woman suffrage. Some of the speeches made on that occasion were so much to the point that we give herewith a few extracts from them, as showing how an increasing number of Liberal voters are feeling on this subject and their determination to get the question settled in the next Session of Parliament.

Sir Francis Blake, Chairman of the Berwick Liberal Association

Men are voters at present, and it will be by the votes of men that this will be carried; and therefore I think you will agree that forming a Federation of Men was one of the wisest steps in connection with this reform that it was possible to take in this district. A great many people would like to understand what the position is of a member of the Cabinet who is wholeheartedly in favour of the movement, and at the same time finds the Cabinet is not united and has perhaps as many members against us as for us.

Mr. R. K. Gaul, Local Hon. Secretary of the Northern Men's Federation

The men of the country, weary of this militancy which has been forced on the women (which we greatly deplore) and shocked and disgusted at the treatment meted out to certain women, have determined that the question shall be settled now.

I have to inform you, sir, that this deputation of electors in your constituency, who have in the past supported you, have unanimously resolved that unless the Liberal Government adopt Women's Suffrage as a Government Measure we will withdraw our support from you, as a member of the Government. It is not enough that we know that you are an earnest supporter of the principle of Women's Suffrage. We want something done. If we, through deep conviction, and as a matter of principle, are prepared, thus openly, to discard party, perhaps you, sir, will be able to inform us later what you are prepared to do in this matter of justice and right, in putting your principle and honour before party.

Mr. J. C. Stanier, Solicitor

Now, sir, we remember what happened to the Women's Suffrage Amendment in the early part of this year. Subsequently the Prime Minister promised to give an equally good chance to supporters of Women's Suffrage. We are unable to see how facilities have been given, nor yet that amendments have been permitted. So again I ask, How has Mr. Asquith kept his pledge; and, if not yet fulfilled, how will he redeem it?

Mr. G. S. Stewart, Schoolmaster

The point, sir, which I wish to emphasize is that there is evidently no prospect of a Bill granting votes to women passing through Parliament, except as a Government measure. It is equally futile to trust this important matter to the chances of an amendment to a Government Bill, as the deplorable fiasco on the Manhood Suffrage Bill plainly shows. Before the first Home Rule Bill was brought in in 1886, Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Bright, and Sir Henry James

refused to join the Ministry, and on its introduction Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan resigned. The Bill was defeated on the second reading, no fewer than 83 Liberals voting with the Opposition. And now, because the measure was adopted by the Government, the policy of granting Home Rule to Ireland has become one of the strongest articles of Liberal policy. Now, sir, there is a greater consensus of opinion favourable to women's franchise in the country at large, in the Liberal Party, and in the Cabinet, than there was in favour of Home Rule, and therefore I contend it is the duty of the present Government to bring in a measure to give effect to a demand that has been pressed for the last forty years.

Mr. W. B. Dickinson

We think, sir, that not only should the Government take up a measure of Women's Suffrage, but that they should do so at once. It will stop militancy. We think further that nothing else will. We cannot see how imprisonment or persecution will ever drown the spirit of these women. It has been tried so far and failed. It is not a little humiliating for us to think that you, sir, who are more highly thought of than any other man has ever been in this constituency should, when you come to Berwick, have to address what is practically a "packed" meeting. Another reason why we urge the Government to take this up quickly is that it is alienating Liberals.

Every time this question has been brought fairly and squarely before the House—free from complication by other issues, such as questions of party or danger to the Government—when the members have been simply invited to say aye or no, there has been an overwhelming majority in favour of it, amounting on one occasion to 172 (1917). We claim that a majority of that kind reflects the will of the nation.

Mr. E. A. Constable

The women who are working for the vote, whether they are militant or non-militant, are in the main the women who, by their intelligence and their ideals and their experiences, are best qualified for public work. Their energies are being diverted from that work by this struggle. That means waste to the community, and for that waste the Government, and especially the Prime Minister, is responsible. You cannot blame the women—for every way in which they have tried to serve their fellows they have found to be, not a broadening avenue as it ought to be, but a cul-de-sac walled up by political inequality.

Mr. M. S. Carruthers

One suggestion occurs to us whereby you could further the movement, cause militancy to cease, and enable justice to be done to the women. We do not, of course, presume to dictate, but we should esteem your views regarding our suggestion that Cabinet Ministers who favour Women's Suffrage might make it a condition of their membership of any Cabinet that Women's Suffrage be made a Government measure. In our opinion, which we respectfully submit, the problem of how to get Votes for Women would be solved if you were to adopt this attitude, for we cannot imagine a Liberal Cabinet without you as a member of it.

(The above speeches, in full, together with Sir Edward Grey's reply, can be obtained in leaflet form from the Hon. Sec., Northern Men's Federation, 6, Wellington Road, N.W.)

THE MOVEMENT ALL OVER THE COUNTRY

JOHN BRIGHT'S GRANDSON REFUSES TO PAY HIS WIFE'S TAXES

Though the Liberal Government have ceased to uphold their old maxim of "No taxation without representation," one descendant at least of John Bright still lives up to their traditions. Mrs. Clark, of Street, Somerset, wife of Mr. Roger Clark, grandson on his mother's side of John Bright, is a member of the Women's Tax Resistance League. She therefore refused to pay her income tax, but was told that her husband and not herself was liable for this. Mr. Clark, however, upheld his wife's action, and in consequence a distraint was made, and last week an Indian silver rose bowl and a silver jug were sold by public auction. The auctioneer, in his opening remarks, declared himself a convinced Suffragist, and attributed this to constantly coming in contact with women householders in his capacity of tax collector. After the sale a successful protest meeting was held, with Mr. Clark in the chair.

Carrying the War into the Chancellor's own Country

The Tax Resistance League has been carrying on a brisk campaign in Mr. Lloyd George's own country of Wales, and last week two successful meetings were held in Newport. The propaganda carried out in the neighbouring villages was well received, and many new resistors are ready to make protests when next year's taxes become due.

THE ELECTORS OF THE NORTH

A Deputation to Go to the Glasgow Council

The activities of the Northern Men's Federation continue to grow apace. On Thursday, after we went to press, a deputation numbering twenty members of the

Glasgow branch of the Federation, were to be received by the Lord Provost and the Council of Glasgow. Bailie Alston, J.P., was to lead the deputation, and Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett was to accompany it in order to put the woman's point of view. It will be remembered that a similar deputation was received on October 14 by the Town Council of Morpeth, when a strong resolution was passed, calling upon the Government to bring in a measure of Woman Suffrage next session, and adding a rider urging other Town Councils to do the same.

To-Night's Meeting

At to-night's (Friday's) great meeting in the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, several Councilors and Bailie Alston, J.P., will represent the Scottish electors among the speakers, while Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck and Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett will be the woman speakers, and Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., late Premier of South Australia, will be able to speak from the experience of one who is the fellow-countryman of woman voters.

PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE Votes for Women and "Social Service"

We have heard a great deal during the past week about the new Association for Social Service, emanating from the Cavendish Club. Anti-Suffrage Cabinet Ministers and the leader writers of Anti-Suffrage morning papers have alike been eloquent about the duties of citizenship, the rights of which they believe in withholding from half the human race. So it is very refreshing to find that on the occasion of the formation of a Manchester branch of this new Association, last week, the Manchester Men's League for Women's Suffrage distributed an admirable leaflet outside the inauguration meeting, pointing out that all the social ills the Association seeks to cure will never be grappled with till women have the vote, and calling upon the meeting not to separate without passing a resolution to demand a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women.

Child Labour Still Raging

Suffragists are heartily tired of being asked to assist in tinkering at reforms when, with the help of the vote, they might do something really effectual. A memorial presented to the Birmingham City Council last Monday gave some terrible facts concerning boy labour in that city. Some boys were found to be working between 60 and 70 hours a week, including their 27½ hours at school. In the case of one child of 12, employed by a fruit shop, his working week was 83 hours. The memorial pleaded for further regulation and supervision of juvenile employment. Are we likely to secure either without the motive power of the woman's vote?

A Sweating Exhibition

The Sweating Exhibition being held on Thursday and Friday (to-day), from 3 o'clock onwards, in the Carlton Hall, under the auspices of the Conservative Women's Franchise Union, should demonstrate clearly enough the need for the woman's vote as a protection for the worker. Makers of artificial flowers, shirts, brushes, boys' knickers, and various other workers in the sweated industries will be seen at work, under happier circumstances than in their own homes, perhaps, but demonstrating nevertheless the abominable conditions under which they earn their miserable pittance.

SHALL WOMEN BE LAWYERS?

The appeal of the plaintiffs in the case, *Bebb, v. The Law Society*, is down for hearing during the next few weeks. Sir Stanley Buckmaster, K.C., now appointed Solicitor-General, was the women plaintiffs' counsel at the previous hearing of the case, but in consequence of his appointment he has been obliged to resign his brief, and Lord Robert Cecil will take his place. It will be remembered that the case, which was decided against the plaintiffs when heard in last July, was brought against the Law Society by Miss Bebb and two others who sought the right to enter the legal profession.

JUST READY

The Home-Breakers

By a Popular and Well-known Novelist who desires to remain anonymous

In Cloth Gift, 6s.

This is an anti-militant suffragist novel. Although much has been written from the other side, this is the first book by a writer of front rank that describes relentlessly, yet with perfect fairness, the change that is creeping over home-life—a change, in the author's opinion, for the worse, so far as the future of the race is concerned.

T.P.'s WEEKLY says:—

"It is an interesting book. Its fault is not one of unfairness. It is true in substance; it is an intelligent survey of feminism. It deserves to be read as a living. The author has no need to hide his identity."

London: HURST & BLACKETT, Ltd.,
Paternoster House, E.C.

CORRESPONDENCE

PASSIVE RESISTANCE—AN EXCELLENT SUGGESTION

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Madam,—It is now six months since I resigned my seat on the local Education Committee and went "on strike" as a protest against the treatment which women's demand for the suffrage has received at the hands of the Government. At that time I invited other women who felt as I did to follow my example, and to refuse for the present to help in any public and philanthropic work of any kind by giving either time or money to any other cause but that of women's suffrage. Six months has been long enough for me to see how numerous are the different points at which we can make such a protest felt.

There are many women with greater leisure and wealth than myself, whose withdrawal from public work would be far more effective, and it is to induce them to follow a similar course that I am writing now. Even in my case the list of societies affected is a fairly long one. I have temporarily withdrawn my subscription from The Proportional Representation Society, the Blind Society, Hospital Linen Fund, Roman Catholic Orphanage, Salvation Army, Mothers' Institute, Gordon Boys' Home, Seamen's Mission, Seaside Camps for Boys, Home-Workers' Aid Association, Fresh Air Holiday Fund, Bible Society, University Settlement, Local Hospital, &c. This is only during the slack season. During the winter, and especially at Christmas time, the appeals are likely to be much more numerous.

In each case my refusal to give has been accompanied by a letter or an interview, giving my reason for so doing, and inviting men who value women's help to prove it by helping us now to get the vote as quickly as possible. I have also kept an account of the money saved in this way, and sent it at intervals to various suffrage societies.

Such a protest, carried out by one person, has little effect beyond making that one person unpopular. But if fifty in one

small town would do the same, such action would make itself felt; much more therefore if five thousand, or fifty thousand, did the same all over England.

People may still say this would do no good, but would only annoy the men still more. We cannot tell what good it would do until we try, and surely it is worth while to make the experiment, if only for one year. It is not the refusal of money alone, but the refusal of service, that I feel most important. Let those women who agree with me decline to give a tray at a tea-meeting; to take the chair at a Band of Hope; to teach in Sunday-school (superintendents are nearly always men); to speak at a sisterhood meeting; to work for bazaars; to play in the orchestra at church on festival occasions; or to help with mothers' meetings or district visiting. Let them resign from all Care Committees, Boards of Managers, lecture societies, Oxford and Cambridge local examination committees, school clinics, &c., and let them accompany such refusal to work in each case with a letter of explanation.

More practical methods, I grant, are those of our leaders, the great women speakers and organisers who are educating the country. But we are not all capable of this. There are other methods, such as tax resisting, which appeal to me as reasonable, but which many women like myself are, from various reasons, unable to adopt. There are also other more militant tactics, and those who adopt them are doubtless convinced of their utility; but there are many women who could not conscientiously imitate these methods. To all such women I appeal. Do not sit still and do nothing because you cannot follow any of the above three methods, but try my plan for a year at least, and let us see whether it will help at all. I firmly believe it will, if only it can be carried out on a large scale. After all, it is the men who will give us the vote, when we ever get it, and they must be made anxious to do so at once. Let them see how difficult it is to get on without us; let them also find out, by our abstention from work (and from subscriptions) how much we have done in the past, and let us hope that they will be willing to win our services again by granting us what we ask.

A strike is often successful in the world of labour; may it not be successful in politics too? As soon as the men electors really wish women to have the vote they will make the Government wish it too, and our object will be gained.—Yours truly,
INSTAURISTO.

TO IRISH WOMEN MUNICIPAL ELECTORS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Will you very kindly permit me to remind your lady readers that the elections for the Urban and Borough Councils are coming on in January, and that not a day should be lost in selecting suitable women candidates to fill a fair proportion of those important offices. It is now universally recognised that the help of capable, experienced women is needed upon all our Local Boards, especially in all matters affecting the well-being of women and children; and the success which has attended their labours as Poor Law Guardians, &c., during the past dozen years or more is sufficient guarantee that their services will be equally valuable in the offices just now open to them. A large proportion of our electors, both male and female, are fully aware of this, and will everywhere gladly vote for them. The elections for the Poor Law and County Council Boards will not come off till June.—Yours, &c.,

ANNA M. HASLAM
(Hon. Sec. Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association).
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
November, 1913.

MEN AND THE VOTE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I should be most happy to act upon Mr. J. Scurr's suggestion and join some society that would sink minor differences, and especially would not waste time in denouncing militancy, but would rather, if they talked about it, put the blame on the Government's shoulders, where it by right belongs.

I am not prepared to go the whole militant hog, but should otherwise gladly co-

operate with those who are keen on this subject, and at the same time prepared to ignore the party caucus of either party. If your paper would put me in touch with men of like mind to myself I should consider you were doing me a great service.—Yours, &c.,

T. TRAFFORD.
Somerset Cottage, Somerset Street,
Kingsdown, Bristol.

ENGLISH SUFFRAGISTS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Mrs. Goodison, Honorary Secretary of the Commonwealth Liberal Women's Council of Perth, W.A. (whose journalistic nom de plume is "Sybil"), writes to tell us of the interesting speeches made on the English Suffrage movement at the Liberal Club there by Miss Newcomb and Miss Hodge, then travelling through the country. They roused the greatest interest in their hearers by their account of recent happenings in this country, and a Lancashire woman followed them with an instructive description of the conditions of working women in the North of England. Mrs. Goodison closes her account by saying: The women of Australia are using their votes more fully and more intelligently than they did when it was first granted to them, but there is still room for improvement. Though we are not in such dire necessity as are our English sisters, yet our women and children are decimated by the results of that fell disease which only equality of sex in the eye of the law and education in sexual purity will remove from the Empire.

A CURIOUS COINCIDENCE

Mrs. Florence Rolph writes with reference to the article on Miss Spang's dances which appeared in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN:—

It is a remarkable fact that my daughter is dancing on December 1 at Linacre Hall, Willesden Green, an original dance of my own on the same subject and same music. As Miss Spang is billed to appear previously, I only wish to say it is another case of "two minds with a single thought," and save my reputation as a copyist!

MRS. FAWCETT DENOUNCES THE MILITANCY OF THE GOVERNMENT

In connection with the half-yearly meeting of the Council of the N.U.W.S.S., an able and reasoned denunciation of the Government was delivered in the Newcastle Town Hall last Friday evening by Mrs. Fawcett. The *Morning Post*, in a burst of poetic licence, heads a brief report of the speech with the words, "Mrs. Fawcett's condemnation of militancy." This is accurate without being true, for it leaves out the important fact that it was the militancy of the Government, as shown towards the militant Suffragists, that Mrs. Fawcett was bent on condemning, and she condemned it to good purpose by summarising with great clearness the broken Government pledges of the last few years which have led to the present intolerable situation in the country.

HER SPEECH

Mrs. Fawcett said that the recent speeches of two important Cabinet Ministers, both friends of the cause, left out some of the very essential facts of the case. "Sir Edward Grey advises us that the next election is the critical time, and that we must concentrate on that. He does not appear to remember that in 1910 he advised us to concentrate on 1911. We did so; there was a complete truce from militancy for nearly two years, covering the period from January, 1910, till the end of November, 1911. In that interval the second reading of the Conciliation Bill was carried twice in the House of Commons, once by 110 and once by 167; but nothing further came of it. The Government obstinately declined to grant facilities for the further progress of the Bill, although there would have been ample time in both years to proceed with it.

The Famous Torpedo

"On the contrary, the Bill was 'torpedoed,' to use Mr. Lloyd George's own boast, by the promise on the part of the Prime Minister to introduce on behalf of the Government a large measure of electoral reform." Mrs. Fawcett then recalled the promises made by the Prime Minister to the suffrage societies in November, 1911:—

1. That the Government would use its utmost endeavours to get this Reform Bill carried in all its stages during the session of 1912.

2. That it should be so drafted as to admit of women's suffrage amendments.

3. That the Government would not oppose such amendments.

4. That such amendments, if carried in the House of Commons, would be accepted by the Government as an integral part of the Bill and would be defended in all its subsequent stages in both Houses of Parliament.

The Militants were Right

The National Union and the other constitutional suffrage societies, Mrs. Fawcett went on, accepted these promises, and believed in their bona fides. The Women's Social and Political Union rejected them and regarded them as worthless; and in this belief they again resumed militant tactics. It is certain now that not one of the promises given to us by the Government came to fruition. The pledges given to us remain unredeemed.

Militancy "an Heroic Effort to Overcome Evil by Evil"

Mr. Lloyd George maintains that militancy has been the cause of what he calls the set-back to the suffrage cause. I do not admit (and I gather that Mr. Lloyd George agrees) that there has been any set-back in the country. The set-back, if any, is in the House of Commons. Now, let me not be misunderstood on the subject of militancy. The National Union objects to militancy on the ground that it is an effort, often, as many of us feel, an heroic effort, to overcome evil by evil, instead of endeavouring to overcome evil by good. Our objection to the policy of coercion which is all that the Liberal Government is now offering to the demand by women for representation is identical with our objection to militancy.

Coercion "a Mean Attempt"

It is an attempt, and generally a mean and spiteful attempt, to overcome evil by evil, and is therefore bound to be and has already proved itself to be signally unsuccessful. Why cannot the Government act upon the lines indicated by Mr. Churchill in his recent speech at Dundee, when he said he did not agree with those who refused to parley with men who threaten violence? "There is rarely violence without some cause. Liberalism is successful because it does not treat the symptom, but always seeks the cause.

When the cause is abated the violence and the other ugly symptoms disappear." This was, of course, said in reference to another subject, but it is strictly applicable to the attitude of the Government on the women's suffrage question.

What the Government Offer—Coercion or Broken Pledges?

To the small group of militants the Government offer coercion pure and simple and nothing else. To the infinitely more numerous body of non-militant suffragists they offer a rich banquet of unredeemed pledges. The solemn promises and assurances given to us by Mr. Asquith on behalf of the Government on November 17, 1911, have never been redeemed. There is no sign of the slightest wish or intention on the part of the Government that they should be redeemed. Mr. Asquith and members of his Cabinet took steps almost immediately after those promises had been given calculated to make their fruition an impossibility. Sir Edward Grey had promised us "a real opportunity, and not a bogus offer." We have had no opportunity, and nothing but a bogus offer. Sir John Simon had also given similar promises. Mr. Lloyd George said that the idea that the Prime Minister would draw back in the slightest degree from the promises he had given was "an imputation of deep dishonour which he utterly declined to discuss"; and yet those promises turned out to be nothing but white of egg and east wind.

The Humiliation of Keeping a Promise

Why, it may be asked, do I blame the Government for the Speaker's ruling? I do not blame them for this, but for the signals of distress which the Prime Minister flew at his masthead, making his followers in the House of Commons write in the public Press of "the humiliating position" in which he would be placed if, by the success of a Woman's Suffrage Bill or a women's suffrage amendment to the Government Bill, he were called upon to fulfil the promises he had given us; and I blame them for the deliberately planned and carefully carried out detachment of Mr. Redmond's followers from the support of women's suffrage by making them believe that the success of our Bill or amendment would mean the break-up of the Government with the consequent destruction of their hopes for the immediate triumph of Home Rule. We know that this was done by members of the Cabinet, both before the defeat of the Conciliation Bill by 14 in March, 1912, and all through the autumn, leading up to the fiasco of the Government Reform Bill in January, 1913.

The Irish Intrigue

The whole intrigue was described, with a naïveté for which we thank him, by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., an eye-witness of and participant in the business, in a message contributed by him to the *Chicago Tribune* on January 25. These tactics were successful, for not one of Mr. Redmond's followers voted for the Conciliation Bill, although in the previous year 31 had voted for it. The same thing very nearly happened with regard to the Dickinson Bill last May. And it is particularly to be remembered, first, that no authoritative contradiction was given to the reports generally circulated that the success of women's suffrage would cause the Government to break up until the very day, January 24, when the House went into Committee on the Government Bill, and, secondly, that the Government had postponed the Committee stage of their own Bill until a period in the session when the House had already been in session for thirteen months, and when it was a practical impossibility either to retrieve any blunder or to get a Bill of such importance through all its stages in both Houses of Parliament.

The Chancellor's Inexactitudes

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mrs. Fawcett continued, had said that the friends of women's suffrage in Ireland were alienated by the throwing of a hatchet at Mr. Redmond. But the Irish vote had been detached from the Conciliation Bill nearly four months before this assault. There was now a greater demand from Ireland for suffrage speakers than ever. Mr. Lloyd George stated at Swindon that in the House of Commons the situation as regards women's suffrage is the worst he had ever known. Nevertheless, continued Mrs. Fawcett, there are abundant signs that our following in the country is stronger to-day than it ever was.

"Our Enemies Cannot Win at all"

Mrs. Fawcett then gave as signs of increased support in the country the resolutions passed by the Labour Party Congress and that of the Trades Unions, the support of the Church Congress and the statesmanlike letter of the Bishop of Winchester. She concluded by affirming her confidence in a speedy realisation of their hopes, saying that, at any rate, as John Bright said on a somewhat similar occasion, "If we cannot win as fast as we could wish, our enemies in the long run cannot win at all."

THE N.U.W.S.S. RESOLUTION

The following comprehensive resolution, proposed by the Executive of the N.U.W.S.S. at their Council meeting held in Newcastle last week, was passed unanimously:—

"That this Council calls upon the Prime Minister to redeem his pledges with regard to women's suffrage in the only way now possible by introducing a Government measure to enfranchise women.

"That, in view of the frequency with which the Referendum is suggested as the best means for solving the question of women's suffrage, this Council desires to place on record its strong condemnation of the proposal, upon the ground that it would be unconstitutional and unjust to single out this one issue as the subject of a legislative experiment hitherto untried in this country."

"An Evasion of the Prime Minister's Pledge"

The Council further resolved that "this Council regards the introduction of the Plural Voting Bill or any other alteration of the franchise as an evasion of the Prime Minister's pledge that women's suffrage should have full opportunity when electoral reform was introduced."

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Friday, November 7.—Hayrick set on fire at Swadlincote, Burton-on-Trent. A woman coming from near the rick was seized by a passing motorist, but another woman came to her assistance, and the man was overpowered. Fire extinguished by motorist's companion. Suffrage literature found.

About 100 letters damaged in pillar-boxes in different parts of Oxford.

Saturday, November 8.—Attempt to burn grand stand at Stockton-on-Tees Race-course; messages to Mr. Lloyd George found.

Tuesday, November 11.—Begbrook, an unoccupied house at Frenchay, near Bristol, destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £3,000; Suffrage literature found.

Explosion at Cactus House, Alexandra Park, Manchester; damage to the building estimated at £200, apart from damage to plants. Explosion attributed to Suffragists, though no message or literature found.

Club house and pavilion at Bowling and Tennis Club, Catford, destroyed by fire; Suffragists suspected, though no evidence.

Wednesday, November 12.—Letters destroyed by black fluid in pillar-box at Wigan.

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Dickins & Jones Peter Robinson
Gorringe's William Owen
Hayford's D. H. Evans & Co.
Corset Gaine T. J. Harries

Dentist
Chodwick Brown

Drapers

Debenham's Marshall & Snelgrove
Derry & Toms Peter Robinson
Dickins & Jones Shoolbred's
Jaeger's William Owen
Gorringe's D. H. Evans & Co.

Dressing Case and Trunk Makers
John Pound & Co.

Dyers and Dry Cleaners
Hayford's

E. Day & Co.

Florists, &c.

Alexander & Co.

Furnishers

Derry & Toms Waring & Gillow
Shoolbred & Co. William Owen

Glovers and Hosiers

Debenham's Marshall & Snelgrove
Derry & Toms Peter Robinson's
Dickins & Jones Shoolbred's
Gorringe's Wm. Owen
Hayford's D. H. Evans & Co.
Jaeger's T. J. Harries

Hotels

Strand Imperial Hotel Thackeray Hotel

Jewellers and Silversmiths

Goldsmiths and Waring & Gillow
Silver Smiths' Co.

Ladies' Tailors and Dressmakers

Burberys Gorringe's
Alfred Day Marshall & Snelgrove
Debenham's H. J. Nicholl & Co., Ltd.
Derry & Toms Peter Robinson
Dickins & Jones William Owen
S. Glassner D. H. Evans & Co.
Mrs. Oliver

Laundries

Beaconsfield Laundry New Grosvenor
Lavender Laundry Laundry
Model Laundry

Milliners

Debenham's Marshall & Snelgrove
Derry & Toms Peter Robinson
Dickins & Jones William Owen
French Hat Shop D. H. Evans & Co.
Gorringe's Mrs. Oliver
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THE REGENCY Co. (Dept.), Regency House, Warwick St., LONDON, W.



NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

6, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

A very interesting "at home" was held on Tuesday, when Miss Margaret Douglas, in a brilliant and lucid criticism of the Insurance Act, exposed the fallacy of the "necessity for fourpence" idea, particularly as regards the women. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Indian poet, gave an exquisite address from "An Eastern Woman's Standpoint," and showed that in many things the women of the East have more real freedom than their Western sisters. Miss Jean Forsyth occupied the chair.

CONCERT.—A splendid programme, in which many distinguished artistes will take part, has been arranged by Mrs. Partwee. Among those who have consented to appear—engagements permitting—are Mme. Moliton Meux, Miss Lillian Berger, Miss Flora Mann, Miss N. Addison, Miss Eugenie Croft, Mr. Robert Maitland, Miss Grace Jean Crocker, Miss Margaret Bussé, Miss Christine Hawkes, Miss Gertrude Peppercorn, Miss Fanny Wentworth, Miss May Walker, and Her Highness the Ranees of Sarawak.

The primary object of this entertainment is, of course, the raising of funds. But no lover of good music—suffragist or anti—would grudge the price of a ticket—5s. and 2s. 6d.—for the privilege of being present at the New Constitutional Hall on November 21, 3 p.m.

CHRISTMAS BAZAAR.—This has been planned on a most ambitious scale, and it is "up to" each individual member to make its success her own personal concern. It will be held from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. on December 2 and 3. Please begin now to book friends for the evening as well as the afternoon.

READING BY-ELECTION.—The Government must go! So say the Reading electors; and as the N.C.S. helped to bring about that decision, we may congratulate ourselves on the result.

WANTED. Hostesses for our weekly "at homes," and members or friends willing to give drawing-room meetings for the N.C.S.

FUTURE MEETINGS

Sunday, 16.—Hyde Park, noon, Mrs. Merivale Mayer.

Tuesday, 18.—New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, 3 p.m., Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Mr. Laurence Housman on Tax Resistance; Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

Tuesday, 18.—Wantage Town Hall, 3 p.m., Mrs. Merivale Mayer.

PAPER SELLING AT KEIGHLEY

A member of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, who has been selling the paper at the Keighley by-election, writes that she had a ready sale last week, and soon sold out all her stock, amounting to several dozen, and wished she had ordered more.

She had amusing experiences with both Liberal and Conservative candidates. Lord Lascelles shook his head when offered a copy, and said he "knew all about it" (his mother is the President of the Leeds Anti-Suffrage Society); while Sir Stanley Buckmaster took a copy, but said that he read it every week. The *Yorkshire News*, giving an account of the episode, describes our paper-seller as the "woman in black," the "determined damsel," and finally as the "persistent female."

SELLING THE PAPER ELSEWHERE

A VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellow in South Africa writes: "For the past four months I have been getting three extra copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN each week to sell in Johannesburg, and this month have secured another subscriber. A newsagent gets two copies a week; but I am thinking of asking him to take a dozen, guaranteeing to take over the unsold ones."

Another Fellow, who is not able to give very much help during the winter months, writes that she wishes to present the paper to one of the holiday resorts in lieu of personal service, which, owing to present circumstances, she is unable to give.

THE ACTRESSES' MASS MEETING

The meeting and reception to be held by the Actresses' Franchise League at the Shaftesbury Theatre (by kind permission of Mr. Robert Courtneidge), on Tuesday, November 18, at 3 p.m., promises to be a brilliant affair. The speakers are all representative men, and include Professor Bickerton, the eminent astronomer; the Rev. Lewis Donaldson, of Leicester; Mr. J. L. Hammond, late editor of the *Speaker*; the popular actor, Mr. Ben Webster; Mr. Frederick Whelan, a manager of the Vaudeville Theatre; and Mr. Roy Horniman and Mr. Zangwill, who represent the novelists and dramatists. Miss Lena Ashwell will be in the chair, and a number of well-known actresses will be on the stage, and will afterwards act as hostesses at the reception which will be held at the theatre after the speeches. Tea will be served to the guests by a body of actresses under the direction of Miss Maud Gressall.

COMING EVENTS

The Men's Political Union will hold a meeting at the Shoreditch Town Hall today (Friday), at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mr. Ben Tillett, Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. John Scurr, and Mr. Wm. John. Chair: Mr. H. J. Gillespie.

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a public reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday), from 3.30—6.15. Speakers: Miss Courtney, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, and Sir Wm. Chance.

The *Daily Herald* League announce a concert and dance at the Horticultural Hall, Vincent Square, on November 15, from 7—12. Tickets: 1s. each, from all Branch Secretaries or from 21, Tudor Street, E.C.

The Jewish League will hold a meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on November 17 at 8.30 p.m. Speaker: Cecil Chapman, Esq. Chair: A. M. Langdon, Esq., K.C.

The Women's Tax Resistance League announce a lecture by Miss Katherine Raleigh on "The Worship of Athens," at the Caxton Hall (Room 18) on November 18, at 5.30 p.m. Tickets: Tax Resistance League, 2s. and 1s.

At the Suffrage Club on November 18, at 3.15 p.m., Dr. Bisschop will speak on "International Divorce Laws." Chair: Lady Muir-Mackenzie.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship meetings at the Pixmore Institute, Letchworth, on November 19 at 8 p.m., subject, "The Mother Creature at Bay"; chair, Mr. Reginald Price; at St. John's Hall, Ainsdale, on November 27, at 8 p.m.; chair, Rev. G. Z. Edwards; and at the Hope Hall, Liverpool, on November 28; chair, John Ziegler, Esq., J.P.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall on November 19, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. de Fonblanque and Miss Nina Boyle.

At the International Women's Franchise Club on November 19, at 3.30 p.m., Miss Bebb and Miss Nettlefold will speak on "The Admission of Women to the Legal Profession." Chair: Mr. Herbert Jacobs.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will open a debate at the Willesden Parliament, Kensal Rise Council School, on November 25, at 8.15 p.m.

There will be a dinner to the VOTES FOR WOMEN literary contributors at the Connaught Rooms, on December 4, at 7.30 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road.—11.15, Stanton Coit, "Communion of Saints"; 7. G. F. Gooch, "Regeneration of Rural England."

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

NEW THOUGHT CHURCH.—11.15, at Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street. Speaker: Miss Muriel Brown. 7.15, at 78, Edgware Road.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C. (WEST LONDON MISSION).—Preacher, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m., Rev. J. E. Rattenbury. Morning subject: "The Twelve Apostles—No. 9, Matthew." Evening subject: "Is Jesus good enough for the Twentieth Century?"—No. 3, "Can Jesus Satisfy the Modern Man?" 6.30, musical service. Soloist, Mr. Arthur Rose; organist, Mr. Frank Idle, A.R.A.M. 3.30, Fellowship. Speaker, Mr. Harry Jeffs. Subject, "What was Wrong with the Band?" Soloist, Miss Agnes Parriah.

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MEMORIAL HALL, Albert Square, Manchester.—Friday, November 28, at 7.30 p.m., Concert by Hope Squire and Frank Merrick. Unfamiliar works for two pianofortes. Tickets, 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., at Messrs. Forsyth Bros., 128, Deansgate.

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Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, c/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society, 19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Walden, Gloucester.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage, The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League, Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 27, Donegal Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice, 22, South Molton Street, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Quia Viva Corps, Duncton, Petworth, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights, 65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Munster Women's Franchise League, 83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League, Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

People's Suffrage Federation, 31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tottenham St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage, 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League, 46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier, Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society, 33, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union, 27, Marillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION.

FRIDAY, November 14, 8 p.m. (doors open 7.30), Shoreditch Town Hall. Speakers: Mr. Ben Tillett, Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. John Scurr, Mr. Wm. Johns. Chair: Mr. H. J. Gillespie. Admission free. Collection.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, November 14, 8.30-6.15, Miss Courtney, Hon. Secretary N.U.W.S.S., Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Sir William Chance, Bart.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.—"At Home," Sunday, November 16, 3.30-5 p.m., Carlton Hall. Speaker, The Rev. Hatty Baker on "Ibsen's Influence on the Woman's Movement." Chair, Mrs. Despard. Admission free.

JEWISH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.—Lecture at Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, November 17, at 8.30. Cecil Chapman, Esq., chair, A. M. Langdon, Esq., K.C. "The Legal Aspect of Woman Suffrage." Tickets, Miss Mildred Marsden, 52, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton Street, W. Subscription, £1 ls. Wednesday, November 19, 3.30, "Club Tea." Speakers: Miss Bebb, Miss Nettiefold. "Admission of Women to the Legal Profession." Chairman: Mr. Herbert Jacobs.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings at Carlton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, November 19: Mrs. de Fonblanque on "Nature and the Soul of Woman's Suffrage," and Miss Nina Boyle. The Chair will be taken at 3.30. Admission free.

LEAGUE OF JUSTICE.—Join the League and strengthen the New Militancy. Particulars of membership from Hon. Organising Secretary, 23, South Molton Street, W.

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